INTERSTATE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491

RESOLUTIONS TO INQUIRE INTO THE INTERSTATE
MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, TO STUDY,
SURVEY, AND INVESTIGATE THE SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC NEEDS, AND THE MOVEMENT OF
INDIGENT PERSONS ACROSS STATE LINES

PART 1
NEW YORK CITY HEARINGS

JULY 29, 30, AND 31, 1941

Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

MONDAY, JULY 29, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the Federal Court Building, New York, N. Y., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman), presiding:

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; James S. Owens, chief field investigator; Ariel E. V. Dunn, field investigator; Edward J. Rowell, field investigator; Henry H. Collins, Jr., field investigator; and Alice Tuohy, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

We will note the presence of Congressman Sparkman, of Alabama, Congressman Curtis, of Nebraska, Congressman Osmers, of New Jersey, and Congressman Parsons, who is taking care of that great ship *America*, which will be in here this afternoon, will be here at that time.

This committee was appointed and is holding these hearings under the authority contained in House Resolutions 63 and 491, of the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress of the United States. These resolutions are as follows:

[H. Res. 63, 76th Cong., 3d sess.]

Resolution

Resolved, That the Speaker appoint a select committee of five Members of the House, and that such committee be instructed to inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey and investigate the social and economic needs and the movement of indigent persons across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation. The committee shall report to the House, with recommendations for legislation, and shall have the right to report at any time. In the event the committee transmits its report at a time when the House is not in session, a record of such transmittal shall be entered in the proceedings of the Journal and Congressional Record of the House on the opening day of the next session of Congress and shall be numbered and printed as a report of such Congress.

That said select committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpena or otherwise, and to take such testimony as it deems necessary. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 2, sec. 192).

[H. Res. 491, 76th Cong., 3d sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the expenses of conducting the investigation and study authorized by H. Res. 63 of the present Congress, incurred by the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $20,000, including expenditures for the employment of clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee or subcommittee thereof conducting such investigation and study or any part thereof, signed by the chairman of the committee or subcommittee and approved by the Committee on Accounts.

SEC. 2. The official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia, if not otherwise officially engaged.

SEC. 3. The heads of the executive departments and other executive agencies are requested to detail personnel temporarily to assist the committee or subcommittee upon request of the chairman thereof.

TESTIMONY OF HON. FIORELLA LaGUARDIA, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

The CHAIRMAN. The first witness will be Mayor LaGuardia. I want to say on behalf of the committee that we think this is very fine of you, Mr. Mayor, to appear here, and you can take your time and give your message to us in any way that you desire.

Mayor LAGUARDIA. May I sit down and be informal?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you are our colleague, anyway.

Mayor LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, I consider it fairly timely and helpful that the House of Representatives should give this matter of transients, or migration, attention at this time. It is a problem which concerns the whole country, and every city in the United States in one way or another is affected and vitally interested. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I will not make any recommendations today; I will reserve the opportunity, if you will permit me, to present recommendations to this committee which will be the recommendations of every city in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Just make that notation, that the mayor will be permitted to make his presentation subsequently to become a part of the record.

Mayor LAGUARDIA. You see, we have made a survey of this; that is, the United States Conference of Mayors, which includes the mayor of every city in the country, over 50,000, and so when you have the recommendations you can be assured that it will be the recommendations of all of the cities. We have no division of opinion on it at all.

Now, this question of migrants, and this movement of large bodies of men is not new in our country. It has been accentuated lately, and there are two reasons for that.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

One is the more convenient and rapid means of transportation.

The other is the technological displacement of labor on the farms.

In the early days there would be several thousand men migrating from one crop area to another, who would find work, and then earn enough to live according to their way for the balance of the year, and then commence all over again in the planting season, harvesting season, and in the shearing season, and thus they would go from one place to another.

Transportation was slower, employment was greater, and it did not really constitute a serious problem.

In later years, of course, through the use of machinery on the farms, scores are employed now where a thousand were employed before, and we are all familiar with that. Even in the cotton area they are holding back machinery at this moment, and we would have still a greater problem if that were not done.

Now, cities that are more humane are penalized for it, because where provision is made, and care given, it is always an attraction, and therefore you will find that certain cities in the country that are more attractive than others for this kind of people are penalized.

FEDERAL COMMUNICABLE DISEASE ACT

Now, gentlemen, the first approach to this problem is the health problem, and you will find that Congress has given attention to the subject in an act of February 15, 1893, chapter 114, section 3. That provides for the repatriation of anyone from one State to another who is afflicted with any contagious or communicable disease, so that you will find your legislative task much easier by reason of the fact that there is precedent for it.

A great many people—may I say to my colleagues I approach this from your viewpoint—a great many of our colleagues in the House, you will find, will view this as impairing the free movement of citizens from one State to another. They do so because they are not familiar with all of the details and danger that it involves, and this precedent I am sure will be very helpful.

In the act of July 2, 1902, you will find that more force was given to this act of 1893 by providing local powers, or powers to the local Federal authorities.

Now, gentlemen, the act is all right, it is sufficiently broad. You may have to include "possessions" in it. I am not so sure, but the method of its enforcement is not clear. All that the act requires are appropriations for the United States Public Health Service. If they have appropriations to carry it out you will relieve many cities of great hospital expense, you will stop the spreading of disease, and you will do a great deal in connection with the very problem you are seeking to solve.

Let me repeat, the act is there. All that it requires is money for the United States Public Health Service to effectuate its provisions. That would take care of tubercular cases and venereal cases, and it would stop the spread, and in the long run every dollar so spent would save $10 in the country somewhere, either for the Federal or for the local governments. I want to commend that act to you. If we could have that act enforced it would be a great relief for us. So you see the Congress has already taken care of people afflicted with communicable disease.

The CHAIRMAN. You would recommend such an appropriation?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. Yes; and you will find no division of opinion on that, among the Public Health Service and among the mayors, and surely there could not be even among the States.

TREATMENT OF SEAMEN

Now, the next group should be treated separately; that is, the seaman group. They are treated separately by the W. P. A., entirely separately. In treating these seamen, I think if you will include them in the unemployment insurance system and provide for their care during times they are not at sea, through the proper Federal agency, you will be helping a great deal. They are in a class by themselves. They are on shore sometimes through no fault of their own, and they should not be treated or provided for under the same general provisions as you will provide for the migrants other than seamen. As I say, they are in a class by themselves. They are easily identified by the records that they have to carry with them, and there are two important considerations: First, they must be cared for at seaports at all times. If they get away from a seaport, I should think that they could be treated as losing their status as seamen. Second, they should be covered into the unemployment insurance system. There is no reason why they cannot, and such a step will relieve a great many. Third, in order to retain their status as seamen, and there would be certain privileges in that status, after they have gone beyond their period of unemployment insurance, and they are still on shore, then they ought to be cared for by the Maritime Commission or such Federal authority as has charge of shipping. We need them. We need to keep them skilled. We don't want them to grow stale, and yet the very calling of their occupation is such that they are "beached" at times. If the ship goes into drydock, the men are "beached" because a great many ships have been taken out of commission.

That disposes of another group.

SPECIAL CLASSES OF MIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY

Now, of course, we have the individual cases, gentlemen, of young people who are attracted to the cities. Some think that they are going to be starred at the Metropolitan, and others expect to become radio stars. Some get jobs, and I do not include them at all in this general problem. The problem here is the chronic traveler, the chronic wanderer, those who go in groups, but there is not a city in the country that cannot cope with those cases, which are always dramatic, and which are the exceptional ones.

For instance, during the world's fair, we had very little trouble. Why? Because we provided for it ahead of time. I established two stations, one at Manhattan, and one at Queens, so that if young people were picked up wandering, and destitute, who had come here hoping that they would find employment, we would not have to book them at the police station at all. We just had this office, this home, and we immediately communicated with their home town, and transportation was furnished by their families to take them home. If the family could not furnish it, we sent them home and we had no problem at all, although some of the experts predicted that we would have thousands and thousands. We just had a few hundred, and there was no problem at all.

Here is another example. There is a certain amateur hour here—talent program. You all know Major Bowes. In the beginning he attracted people to New York, or they said that they came to compete, not knowing the rules. I took it up with Major Bowes, and I had no trouble at all. If anyone claims that he came to go on that hour, he will send them home, and we have no trouble about that.

In the big cities, of course, we are going to have people who come looking for fame and fortunes, but that is not one of the big problems here.

OPERATION OF FEDERAL TRANSIENT PROGRAM, 1933-35

Now, in New York State, the transient program did not begin to operate under State and municipal auspices in New York City until July 1, 1937. From September of 1935 to July 1, 1937, there was no provision for transient relief as such. They were taken care of by private agencies.

From July of 1933 to September of 1935, there was a Federal transient program under which the Federal Government paid the full expense of transients here.

Now, I want to come back to that in just a minute.

PRESENT CARE OF TRANSIENTS IN NEW YORK

Transients are divided into two groups, in this State. We have those that we call the "State charge" cases. The State of New York provides for them. All the city spends is the administrative costs of the nonsettlement bureau, and the State reimburses us for 40 percent of the salaries of administrative employees. The burden is on us to prove that it is a transient case. They call them "State charge" cases, but in the case of transients we have to prove that they are not residents of the State and City of New York, and they are therefore not entitled to relief under our local plan, and the State pays the entire cost.

Then we have the reimbursable cases. They have a technical name for them, too. They are called "charge backs." When we have a case in the city of New York, that is, a resident of the State of New York who is not a resident of the city, then the State pays 40 percent, and the city or the locality or the relief district from which the transients came pays the 60 percent.

We are often stuck in that, because our sister cities or towns up-State disclaim any ownership or any proprietary interest in them, and during that time we are stuck with the difference.

Now, with all of that, gentlemen, the cost to the city is $682,000 annually. That is just the administrative costs, and the cost of those cases that we have to pay wherefor nonsettlement is not proved.

From the time the program started in 1937, $5,240,000 has been spent by the State and city. That is, since 1937. That is $5,240,000 by the State and the city.

The cost last year was $1,950,000.

Now, to give you an idea of how this jumps, I wish to point out that in September 1937 there were 597 cases, while in June 1940 there were 4,198 cases, and these were only the "State-charge" cases, with no settlement in the State at all. We had 4,773 cases, including charge backs, in all, 3,494 of which were families. These 4,773 cases represented 12,119 people.

Now, this is what we get. Families that come here bring with them their relatives and friends from other sections of the country. They will come here with the families, and we have them.

Now, gentlemen, in a city like New York, the problem is entirely different than what it is in a rural district. If that family is destitute, law or no law, we have them on our hands. If they can't pay rent, we find them on the sidewalk. In a great many cases, gentlemen, this does not represent the entire number of families who come here. The human element always enters into it, and a family will come here to New York and after a few days it is destitute and applies for relief.

Now, it is a very difficult problem.

You will hear from the director of the division of transient care, and he believes that there is some very good material in this group, young, energetic, and willing men and women. They are not of the old type that we used to think of, well, a generation ago, and he believes that they are by no means hopeless material.

Now, in addition to this, of course, you know we have a municipal lodginghouse, where meals are served every day. Very few questions are asked about it, and I would like to have you gentlemen make a surprise call at the municipal lodginghouse. Don't tell us when you are going, because, you know, they are liable to primp up a bit, and I don't want them to do that. I want you to see how it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any figures on that?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. Yes; I have some figures on the homeless; 16,025 cases a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Can we have that for the record? Would you just give the high spots?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. The lodginghouse has 2,300 cases a day, and we are filled. I personally want to invite you to attend it at your own time and convenience. Just look and see what it is.

Then we have, of course, Camp LaGuardia.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the city handle the finances of that alone?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. We get reimbursed 40 percent by the State, and 40 percent on Camp LaGuardia. At the latter, we started off with the idea that we would send middle-aged men and older men where they would have a camp for themselves and do all of the work required and have a chance to rehabilitate themselves. The turn-over is very satisfactory. They find employment in the neighborhood. We raise vegetables there which we send to other institutions there, and we have been successful at everything except in raising rabbits for culture purposes.

Mr. OSMERS. If I may interrupt you there, what do you do when the total number of applicants at the municipal lodginghouse exceeds your accommodations for a night's lodging? What do you do with those men?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. We take them to privately owned commercial lodginghouses.

Mr. OSMERS. And the city participates 60 percent in that and the State 40 percent?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it on the increase or decrease?

Mayor LAGUARDIA. I think now it is holding its own, but slightly decreasing.

Mr. CURTIS. I just want to ask a question at this point. These 2,300 per day that are in your lodging quarters, and those people who come to Camp LaGuardia, what percent of those people are interstate transients?

Mayor **LaGuardia**. I do not know about that. Of the homeless themselves, only about 2 percent.

Our transients are 2 percent interstate. That brings up another question. They acquire their residence here by coming here, and then going off relief for a year. It seems to me that where the original entry is accompanied by need for relief, some provision should be made to prevent a person from acquiring a right after entering a State under such conditions. You can readily see that they come here, and we care for them, and then they manage to go off, and they account for themselves for a period of a year, and then we get them right back and they are our own.

CARE OF MIGRANTS IS FEDERAL PROBLEM

Now, this question, gentlemen, under our form of government, is entirely a Federal question. There is no other way. Now, I want to anticipate some recommendations that will be made by some of the private social agencies, and that is of giving grants to the States and letting the States care for it. I think that would be most unsatisfactory. It will involve so much administrative costs, and so much exchange of correspondence, and such an involved administration, that it will be very costly. It should be a Federal administration entirely.

One of the recommendations is that the Federal Government provide these grants and then if the State refuses to recognize the residence of the particular individual, some board of the Federal Government should decide.

Can you see the complicated machinery that that would involve? We would have to have thousands of boards sitting all over the country to decide upon the residence of an individual, and then cases could go to Washington on an appeal.

Why, I do not think that it would justify any such expenditure. If the Federal Government has it, it is immaterial whether the individual is a resident of Alabama, Florida, or Maine. It is a Federal problem, and they have to adjust that case as best they can, in the interests of the community and the individual concerned, and that is why I so strongly recommend that it should be Federal administration.

I know that all of my colleagues, mayors of the cities, will concur in that opinion, but as I stated at the opening, we will present formal recommendations as the mayors of this country through the United States Conference of Mayors.

The **Chairman**. Right on that point, we are starting out with this idea, that we do not know much about this problem, but we have not only contacted the mayors and the governments of the States that we are going to visit but we are contacting the mayors in every State of the Union, on the theory that it is a national problem, and before we file our report you will receive, Mr. Mayor, a tentative report, consisting of the recommendations, as you can give us your ideas, too.

Now, is there any question?

Mr. **Osmers**. Well, I have one question in mind that seems to have cropped up in our investigations at New Jersey yesterday. It seems that in New Jersey, because of the proximity of New York and Philadelphia, that is, New York and Philadelphia, a great many of our destitute migrants or migrants, as soon as they become destitute, either go to New York City or Philadelphia, as the case may be, because in a large city apparently they feel they have a better chance for employment or relief or for whatever benefits they might receive; and there is one point that has struck me through what investigations we have made so far, and that is an exact knowledge of the background, or the residence, or the domicile, or the settlement of the migrant.

There is an absolute lack of information on that subject, and it has occurred to me that we may as a result of our work here, and I would like to get the mayor's opinion on this, find that we are going to have to adopt in this country some sort of universal registration, or internal passports, if you want to call them that, although they would not be passports, so that if you find a man in New York here, wandering about the streets, and he says that he lives in Brooklyn, and he does not live in Brooklyn, that you will have some way of checking on that man, and I wonder what you think of that idea?

Mayor LaGuardia. I think that what you mean is a sort of identification card?

Mr. Osmers. Right.

Mayor LaGuardia. More of an identification card than a formal document, such as a passport?

Mr. Osmers. Yes.

Mayor LaGuardia. Of course, identification is always helpful. It is in large cities. We have that problem several times a day in locating persons who have strayed or been lost, or are injured, and, of course, it is a great help. I do not see how there could be any objection to any system requiring a certificate of identification for everybody. It has got to be for everybody, though.

Mr. Osmers. I mean for everyone. I mean there is so much talk going about today as to subversive activities, just changing the subject for just a moment, and a lack of knowledge as to the exact background of a lot of our citizens, that such a thing might be helpful.

Mayor LaGuardia. Well, of course, if you are looking into background, then you are going beyond the scope of a certificate of identification. In other words, a certificate of identification gives the name and the address and the residence of the citizen, and I do not think that there would be any objection to that. It should not be made an inquisition.

Mr. Osmers. To change the subject there for a minute, in your opening remarks you concentrated on the subject of health, and I think that that is a mighty important phase of the problem. It has been found that a good many of these migrant workers of the State of New Jersey are infected with contagious and communicable diseases. They are only in our State from 2 to 6 weeks, and it is a mighty difficult problem to enforce our very good State laws on communicable diseases because they leave before the treatment has had a chance to take effect. I wonder if you have any suggestions there, whether the Federal Government should keep following them around?

Mayor LaGuardia. They have to, and you will find that this statute, if it could only be carried out, would be a good help. Venereal disease would not spread.

Now, there is another side to this, which is rather delicate, and it will bring forth, perhaps, a great deal of controversy and discussion in the House. That is the beet industry.

If the beet industry cannot survive without bringing a large number of people from Mexico, as they used to do when I was in the House, then I think that the soil had better be turned to some other crop. As you go into some of the beet States you are going to find very strong resistance to any control of or any limitation on the large numbers of migrants, because they are dependent entirely upon the seasonal work, and upon very cheap labor. I do not know if it has changed since the time that I looked into it as a Member of the House, but they used to bring just hundreds of families from Mexico, and they would be paid by the ton. They would turn their little children loose in the field and everyone in the family would work. They lived in boxcars and worked during the season, and then were sent back home.

That is not a wholesome condition, and the debate in the House was very bitter on that subject. It is a very delicate subject.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Mayor, would you say that the type of interstate migrant, such as a potato picker, a beet worker, or something of that kind, where they come through several States to a certain point before knowing definitely that they have a job, and they have an anchor which they can go back to, that State is willing to accept them?

Now, they create some problems of sanitation and health, and now and then some temporary relief, but should that group be dealt with separately from the group of families that have lost their farms or their business, or something, and they are just, you might say, wanderers, and if they are dismissed from the city or the State of New York they have no place to go, no State or locality accepts them as their own?

Mayor LaGuardia. I think that that phase of the problem——

Mr. Curtis. You feel that it is two different problems?

Mayor LaGuardia. Yes; and your specific illustration, I think, is susceptible of solution. Assuming that the Federal Government takes cognizance of this as a Federal problem, it can easily provide that for seasonal work, such as potatoes, the community desiring the additional seasonal help simply registers that there is such demand, and the community sending them, or the people who are actually leaving register that they are going for seasonal work. Then provision ought to be made in some way for their return home. Either the wage accepted should be sufficient to include their keep and return home, or should provide that at the end of the season they will get their carfare or bus fare home. That would be an orderly movement.

Mr. Curtis. Now, have your agencies made any analysis of these families that are not seeking seasonal work, but these other interstate migrants, as to what territories they come from? Can you say that a certain percent come from a certain locality in the South, or some other point?

What I am getting at is that there may be an economic problem in that territory that is dragging people out; that a remedy can be applied there so that those people are not just homeless wanderers?

Mayor LaGuardia. I think that we do that. Our problem is mostly from the South, that is, southern farms. We do not have much from west of the Mississippi.

The Chairman. Mr. Mayor, I think I speak the feelings of the committee when I say that we are very grateful to you for appearing here. You are the first witness in the first hearing to find the facts relating to the migration of destitute citizens, that is, interstate migration.

Now, the figures now available show that we have about 4,000,000 people each year going from State to State—one-third of them children—and your health problem and your educational problem is in there.

Now, they get into those States, and they are foodless and voteless, and why this committee is so pleased to have you as our first witness is this: That you think it is a national problem, and it strikes at the morale of our people, does it not, and we have got to take care of them through national legislation, and we are mighty pleased to have you here, and we will extend this courtesy to you, that you can finish out your statement, and add anything you want.

We shall be particularly interested in your recommendations.

Mayor LaGuardia. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon Mayor LaGuardia was excused.)

The Chairman. The committee will come to order, please. Dr. Lamb, who is your next witness?

Dr. Lamb. Professor Lorimer is our next witness.

The Chairman. Professor Lorimer.

TESTIMONY OF DR. FRANK LORIMER, PROFESSOR OF POPULATION STUDIES, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C., CONSULTANT, NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD

The Chairman. For the benefit of the committee and the record, if you please, give your full name, and something about your background and your study of this problem. If you will do that it will help the record.

Dr. Lorimer. I am Frank Lorimer, at the present time professor of population studies at the American University. I was joint author with Frederick Osborn of a book, Dynamics of Population, and was technical secretary to the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Committee that prepared the report, The Problems of a Changing Population, and am now a consultant to the National Resources Committee and a consultant to a Virginia population study under the Virginia State Planning Board.

The Chairman. What is your feeling? Do you want any questions asked during the making of your statement or would you rather finish first?

Dr. Lorimer. I will leave that entirely to the discretion of the committee.

Mr. OSMERS. If it meets with your approval, I would like to have Dr. Lorimer make a statement of some kind outlining his testimony.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF FRANK LORIMER, PROFESSOR OF POPULATION STUDIES, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY; CONSULTANT, NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD

THE BACKGROUND OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

The distribution of the American people shows a constantly shifting pattern. In 1930, 22,000,000 native whites and 3,000,000 Negroes or 23 percent of the total native population of the Nation, were living outside the States where they were born. An analysis of population movements during the preceding decade, 1920 to 1930, shows a pronounced drift from the three northern New England States and Pennsylvania and all the 28 States south of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers or between the Mississippi and the Sierras with four exceptions: Florida and Texas (which received more migrants than they sent forth) and North Carolina and Louisiana (which neither gained nor lost appreciably through migration during this period). (See figure A.) New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the Great Lakes States east of the Mississippi, and the Far West were the principal areas of attraction. In the Hudson Valley Region, the number of migrants from other States was exceeded by the number of new immigrants abroad, and in Massachusetts and Rhode Island the net loss through interstate migration was more than offset by immigration from other countries. These regional shifts were associated with the rapid growth of cities, and the still more rapid growth of metropolitan rings around large cities. The 96 metropolitan districts absorbed two-thirds of the total national increase between 1920 and 1930. The farm population actually declined by nearly 1½ millions during the twenties, following a smaller decline (somewhat less than one-half million) during the preceding decade.

The 1940 census will tell a different story. Preliminary counts indicate that on the average the larger cities (over 25,000 population) have been growing somewhat less rapidly during the thirties than the Nation as a whole. And the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that during the decade there has been an increase of somewhat over 2,000,000 people in the farm population, just about offsetting the decrease from 1910 to 1930. It also appears that in general southern and western cities have been increasing more rapidly than cities in the Northeast. The largest absolute increases in farm population have been in the Southeast and Northeast. The Pacific area shows an estimated 20 percent increase in its farm population during the decade, but this accounts for only about a tenth of the total increase of farm population in the Nation.

The direction and volume of migration is controlled by two major forces: (1) Shifts in opportunities for economic production, and (2) regional differences in rates of natural increase. These factors are perhaps equally important, and we will deal briefly with each in turn. We will neglect the movement of persons of independent income, including pensioners and retired workers, who are guided primarily by residential preference, and of those who move for the sake of educational advantages, health, or adventure. (See figure B.)

Changes in economic opportunity are shown by a break-down of occupations into 3 broad industrial groups: (1) Extractive: i. e., agriculture, mining, and forestry; (2) mechanical and manufacturing; and (3) transportation, trade, and service. The trend for the Nation as a whole is similar to that shown for the North Central, or Middle States. The proportion of all workers engaged in extractive industries declined from 45 percent in 1880 to 25 percent in 1930. This is due to the rapid increase in productivity per worker on farms and mines, and to shifts in consumer purchases associated with a rising level of living, and to decrease in the use of farm products in the production of power and commodities, e. g., the substitution of gasoline for hay, increase in meat and dairy products per unit of feed, etc. Actually, the relative decrease in farm population lagged behind the relative decrease in the demand for farm products, so that even in 1930 one-half of the farms, producing only about one-tenth of all the farm products sold or traded, yielded a meager livelihood to operators and laborers. The increase of farm population since 1930 has swelled the ranks of these low-income farm families. The peak in the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was reached about 1920, though the absolute number so engaged was higher in 1930.

After 1920, technological displacement of workers in large part offset increased demand for manufactured goods. Opportunities in trade, transportation, and service occupations, on the other hand, have constantly risen, to include 47 percent of all workers in 1930. This division includes some of the most essential phases of economic activity in an advanced economy, and workers in this division cannot to the same extent be displaced by machinery. These shifts in the character of economic opportunity have necessitated changes in the regional distribution of workers. The Northeast, Middle States, and Far West—the areas which attracted migrants during the twenties—hold only about 40 percent of all workers engaged in the extractive industries, but they received about half of the 1,300,000 new workers from 1920 to 1930 in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and nearly three-fourths of the 6,200,000 new workers in transportation, trade, and service—counting only the number entering these fields beyond those needed to replace other workers who retired.

It is also important to take into account the large differences in the ratio of farm population to resources in various parts of the United States. Nowhere in Europe are there great stretches of farms of such high value, but nowhere in western Europe is there such poverty across broad rural areas as in the United States. This contrast affects whole States. For example, in 1930, the average value of farm land at the disposal of each farm worker in Georgia, was only one-tenth that in Iowa. The contrast by counties is even more striking. In many counties (where high pressure of population on resources is shown by the darkest shading) the value of land per worker is less than $250. In many other counties it is well over 10 times that figure. There has been a general trend toward migration from farms—both from high-value areas, in order to maintain large-scale farming or to escape the hazards of drought, and from low-value areas—but in general the migration has been heaviest from the areas where population pressure on limited resources is greatest. In this connection it may be noted that recent migrants from Oklahoma to California have come in greatest numbers, not from western Oklahoma which was in the drought area, but from counties in eastern Oklahoma which suffer from chronic pressure of population on resources. The situation in California is difficult, not because of pressure of population on resources, but because of the peculiar economic structure of agriculture in that State. (See figure C.)

From 1930 to 1940, migration has been in large part a movement from areas of high productivity but heavy unemployment to areas of lower productivity but greater security, provided by poorly paid regular or part-time employment, or through subsistence farming, or both. In other words, it has been the substitution of underemployment for the risk of unemployment. The return to placer mining on abandoned claims in the Rockies is a dramatic illustration. (See figure D.)

But the typical movement has been the retreat to small farms on the outskirts of industrial areas, or in southern Appalachians, Ozarks, Lake States, cut-over lands, the upper Rio Grande Valley, unoccupied lands on the edges of the Willamette Valley, and elsewhere. Millions who have retreated in search of meager security have suffered a severe drop in level of family living, but they have not caused conflict or created special public problems. They have therefore attracted little attention. The same may be said of many young people coming of age in areas of meager opportunity, who would normally have migrated to more favorable situations but have been restrained by fear of failure to find employment.

There has, however, been a counter movement, which has stirred public attention. People have burst forth from areas suffering from the slow rot of economic deterioration, without awaiting the assurance of real economic opportunity elsewhere—only to encounter new types of frustration. These people, fleeing an ever-deepening underemployment, have sought areas of greater opportunity and have, in many cases, found only unemployment. These are the "economic refugees" of our very imperfect economic order. (See figure E.)

In order to understand the forces which have created, and are still creating, the pathological situations of which economic refugees are a symptom, we must give attention to differences in rates of natural increase in relation to economic opportunity. If there were no migration from 1930 to 1960, the growth of farm population through excess of births over deaths would vary from less than 25 percent during this 30-year period in most of the Northeast and some of the Middle States to well over 50 percent in all the Southern States except Florida, and in Utah, Idaho, North and South Dakota.

It is not difficult to foresee that such an increase would, in many cases, be disastrous. Moreover, it has been estimated that at the present time the number of young people coming to productive age each year in the farm population of the Nation is about twice as large as the number who would normally be withdrawn by death or retirement. (See figure F.)

We must bear in mind that the ratio of children to women is, in general, about twice as high in the rural-farm population as in cities. In 1930, this ratio in the native white rural-farm population was 69 percent above that required to replace the parent population, whereas among native whites in cities it was 14 percent below the replacement level. Among Negroes the rural-urban differential in reproductivity is even greater. (See figure G.)

Moreover, the highest reproduction rates are generally found in the very areas where there is already greatest pressure of population on resources. In many of the most prosperous farming areas the number of births each year is just about sufficient to replace the parent population. But in farming areas where income is lowest the number of births each year is from 50 to 100 percent above that which would be sufficient for population maintenance. (See figure H.)

If counties are grouped according to plane of living, a negative relation between economic level and reproductive trend is found within each broad regional division as well as in the Nation as a whole. The index used here is that developed by Goodrich in the study of population redistribution. In those counties that ranked lowest on this plane of living index (one-sixth of all the counties) the ratio of children to women was on the average 77 percent above the replacement level. In the two highest groups it fell below the replacement level.

The significance of these trends for migration is clearly shown by a special tabulation carried out by Dr. Conrad Taeuber of the United States Department of Agriculture. He investigated the situation in 220 counties where the ratio of children to women in the rural population was on the average 100 percent above the replacement level (ranging up from 880 children per thousand women) and which had a rank below 30 on the rural plane-of-living index constructed by Lively, where 100 represents the national average. These 220 counties held a rural population of more than 4,000,000 people in 1920. Between 1920 and 1930 there was a net migration of 630,000 people out of these counties—equal to 16 percent of the original population. This is a high rate of migration though, perhaps because of their isolation and poverty, not quite so high as from some less handicapped rural areas. But in spite of this exodus there were nearly 300,000 more people in the rural areas of these 220 counties in 1930 than there were in 1920. The remarks of the Red Queen to Alice seem peculiarly appropriate. They were running very fast, but they had to run that fast to stay in the same place. If they wanted to get anywhere they would have to run twice as fast. During the depression they couldn't even run that fast, and relatives came back to live with them—until some of them couldn't stand it any longer, and broke out to camp on roadsides in southeast Missouri or to wander from place to place in California in search of jobs that didn't exist.

The situation is further complicated by institutional factors which make for cultural retardation in areas where the proportion of children is highest and where there is greatest poverty—and which thus tend to perpetuate excessive fertility and prevent the most effective use of the limited economic resources that are available. In previous American theory, the health of children is purely a responsibility of individual families, except insofar as their ability to purchase medical services may be supplemented by charity, or their ability to purchase food may be supplemented by relief allowances. Also, in previous American theory, the provision of educational facilities is a purely local responsibility, or at best a responsibility of the individual States. The poorest families, the poorest areas, and the poorest States, where the ratio of children to the supporting adult population is highest, are absolutely unable to provide health and educational advantages equal to those available in more prosperous communities. As a result, the children growing up in rural areas are subject to the demoralization of disease, malnutrition, and inadequate education. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should usually make low scores on intelligence tests, or that they should often appear shiftless. The people who live in more prosperous areas, through their neglect of these matters, have a heavy responsibility for this situation—a situation which sends a constant stream of ill-equipped migrants into American cities, undermines our democracy, and weakens our capacity for national defense. (See figures 1 and J.)

We are confronted with a vicious circle: cultural retardation, excessive fertility, population pressure, and poverty. We must discover ways of breaking this vicious chain of forces. Such, I take it, is the high responsibility of this committee.

In conclusion, permit me to suggest some lines of approach which, it seems to me, merit your serious consideration. The history of attempts to force redistribution of population, or resettlement, records a series of failures. It would be equally disastrous to attempt to freeze the present inequitable distribution of people in relation to resources. A sustained expansion of industrial, commercial, and service opportunities in the Nation would induce a spontaneous large-scale movement from depressed areas to areas of expanding and stable opportunity. We, as a Nation, are capable of achieving such economic progress, and apart from such general economic expansion there can be no permanent solution of the special problems of American agriculture or of many acute problems presented by particular areas.

There are, however, other lines of advance which need not wait on such over-all economic expansion, but are contributory and complementary to it. Measures which will improve the morale of rural youth and increase the capacity of farm families to make fuller use of the resources at their disposal have already been developed by the Farm Security Administration and other agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with State agencies and county committees. These measures need to be extended and supplemented. I should like to propose for your consideration the following thesis.

"No American community should be permanently dependent on outside subsidy for the maintenance of a decent standard of living. Sound adjustment of population to resources is ultimately dependent on local initiative. But the limitation on long-time Federal action implicit in these statements should not be applied to measures concerned with health, education, or other activities essential for building community morale and for the development of individual capacities. The Nation has a direct and primary interest in the quality of its citizens and in providing equal opportunity to all for the development of their individual capacities."

The stabilization of rural communities in the United States is dependent on the reduction of the excessive fertility now characteristic of families in many depressed areas, to a level at most no higher than that prevailing among prosperous farm families. This in turn is dependent on cultural progress and advance in standards of living. In view of all these considerations it has, I submit, become a primary responsibility of the Federal Government to further advances in health, education, and standards of living which will equip those who remain in areas that are now depressed to achieve economic and social advance in these communities and at the same time equip those who move elsewhere to participate effectively in the economic and civic life of the communities which they enter.

The Chairman. Will you proceed to discuss this statement in your own way, please?

TESTIMONY OF DR. FRANK LORIMER—Resumed

Dr. Lorimer. I am only going to deal with the broad outlines of the picture, in other words, the sort of features that show up in a composite photograph of tens of thousands of people. Obviously, the sort of broad picture needs to be supplemented by the knowledge that the Committee is getting through its personal contacts, and other sources of the more intimate personal details of this pattern.

POPULATION CHANGES, 1920–40

Migration is a conspicuous feature, and always has been, of American life. In 1930, 22,000,000 native whites, and 3,000,000 Negroes, nearly a quarter of all of our native-born population, were found living in States outside the State in which they were born. This chart [see figure A, p. 16] presents an analysis of population movements during the last decade for which we have full census returns.

The white bars show the total population growth of groups of States, the States being grouped so as to represent by one bar those that had similar population trends. Next to the white bar, which shows total population growth, is a shaded bar showing the natural increase of population during the decade by excess of births over deaths. The next bar shows the growth through excess of immigrants from other countries, and the black bar shows the net migration into or out of the State during the period.

If the black bar is above the line it indicates a net migration into the area, and where the black bar is below the line it shows a net migration out.

The bars are proportional to the absolute number of persons involved.

The chart shows a pronounced drift from the three northern New England States, and Pennsylvania and all of the 28 States south of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers, and east of the sea areas, with 4 exceptions, Florida, Texas, North Carolina, and Louisiana, which received as many or more migrants than they sent forth.

Mr. Curtis. Pardon me, at this point, you are basing this on the 1930 census?

Dr. Lorimer. Yes. This is an analysis of the migration between 1920 and 1930.

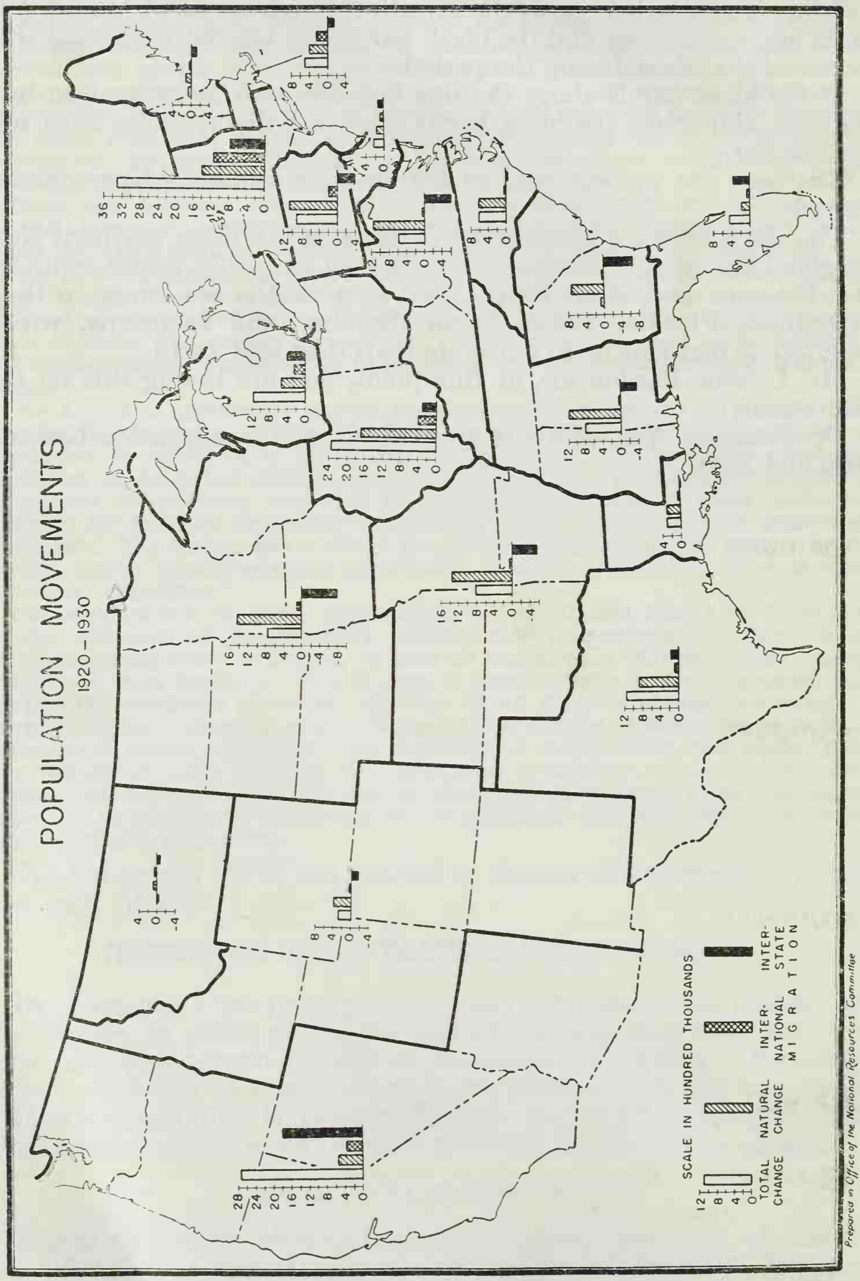

POPULATION MOVEMENTS
1920-1930
SCALE IN HUNDRED THOUSANDS
TOTAL CHANGE
NATURAL CHANGE
INTER-NATIONAL MIGRATION
INTER-STATE MIGRATION
Prepared in Office of the National Resources Committee

FIGURE A—LORIMER

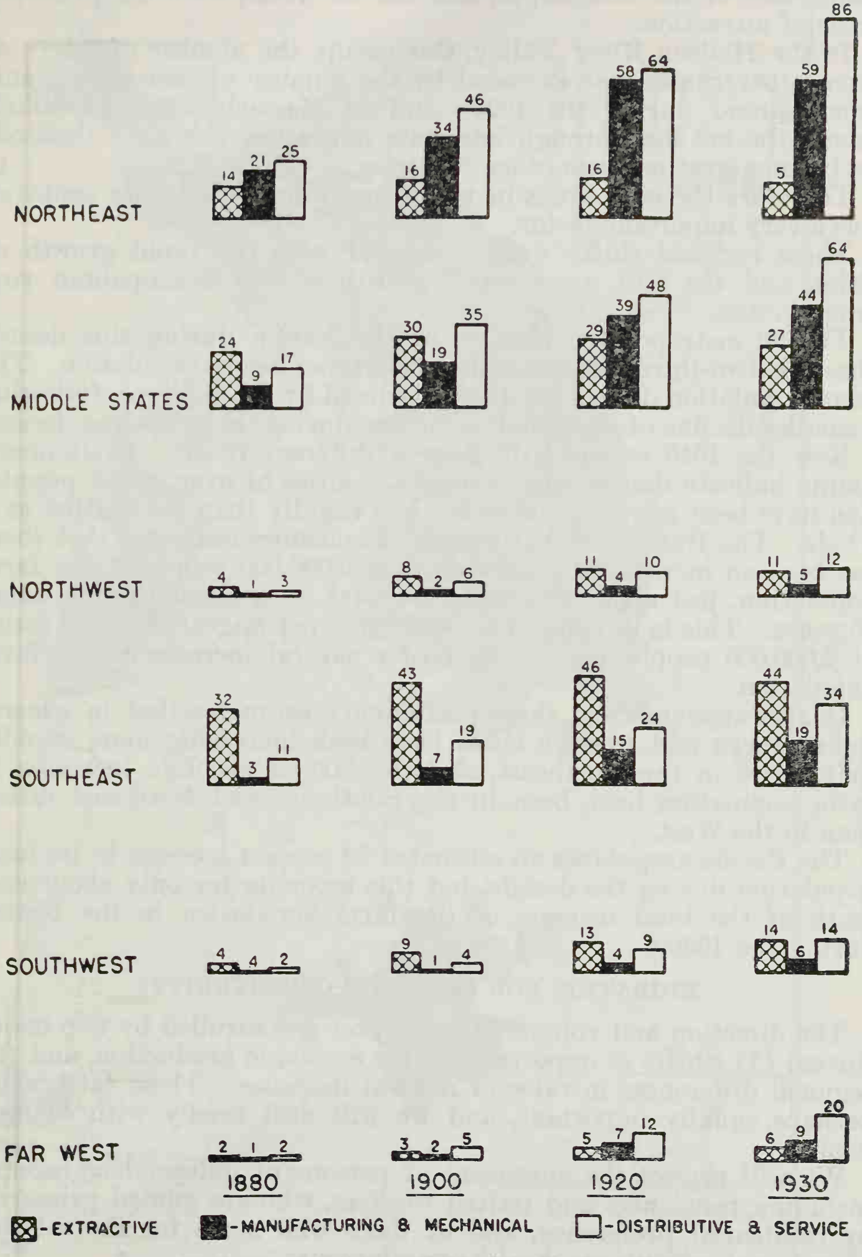


FIGURE B—LORIMER

Distribution of gainful workers by regions by broad industrial groups, 1880–1930.

We see two States in which there was practically no net migration, North Carolina and Louisiana.

New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and the Great Lakes States east of the Mississippi, and the far West, were the principal areas of attraction.

In the Hudson River Valley, this group, the number of migrants from other States was exceeded by the number of new immigrants from abroad during the 1920's and in Massachusetts and Rhode Island the net loss through interstate migration was more than offset by immigration from other countries.

Those are the only areas in which migration from other countries was a very important factor.

These regional shifts were associated with the rapid growth of cities, and the still more rapid growth of the metropolitan ring around cities.

The 96 metropolitan districts of the Nation during this decade absorbed two-thirds of the total national increase in population. The farm population during the 1920's declined by 1½ millions, following a smaller decline of about half a million during the preceding decade.

Now the 1940 census will show a different result. Preliminary counts indicate that on the average the cities of over 25,000 population have been growing somewhat less rapidly than the Nation as a whole. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that there has been an increase of somewhat over 2,000,000 people in the farm population, just about offsetting the total decrease of the preceding 20 years. This is in spite of an estimated net migration from farms of 2,000,000 people, due to the larger natural increase of the farm population.

It also appears from these preliminary estimates that in general the southern and western cities have been increasing more rapidly than cities in the Northeast, and the largest absolute increases in farm population have been in the Southeast and Northeast rather than in the West.

The Pacific area shows an estimated 20 percent increase in its farm population during the decade, but this accounts for only about one-tenth of the total increase of the farm population in the Nation during the 1930's.

MIGRATION FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The direction and volume of migration is controlled by two major forces: (1) Shifts in opportunities for economic production, and (2) regional differences in rates of natural increases. These factors are perhaps equally important, and we will deal briefly with each in turn.

We will neglect the movement of persons of independent income, including pensioners and retired workers, who are guided primarily by residential preference, and of those who move for the sake of educational advantages, health, or adventure.

Changes in economic opportunity are shown by a break-down of occupations into three broad industrial groups:

(1) Extractive, i. e., agriculture, mining, and forestry;

(2) Mechanical and manufacturing; and

(3) Transportation, trade, and service. The trend for the Nation as a whole is similar to that shown for the North Central or Middle States.

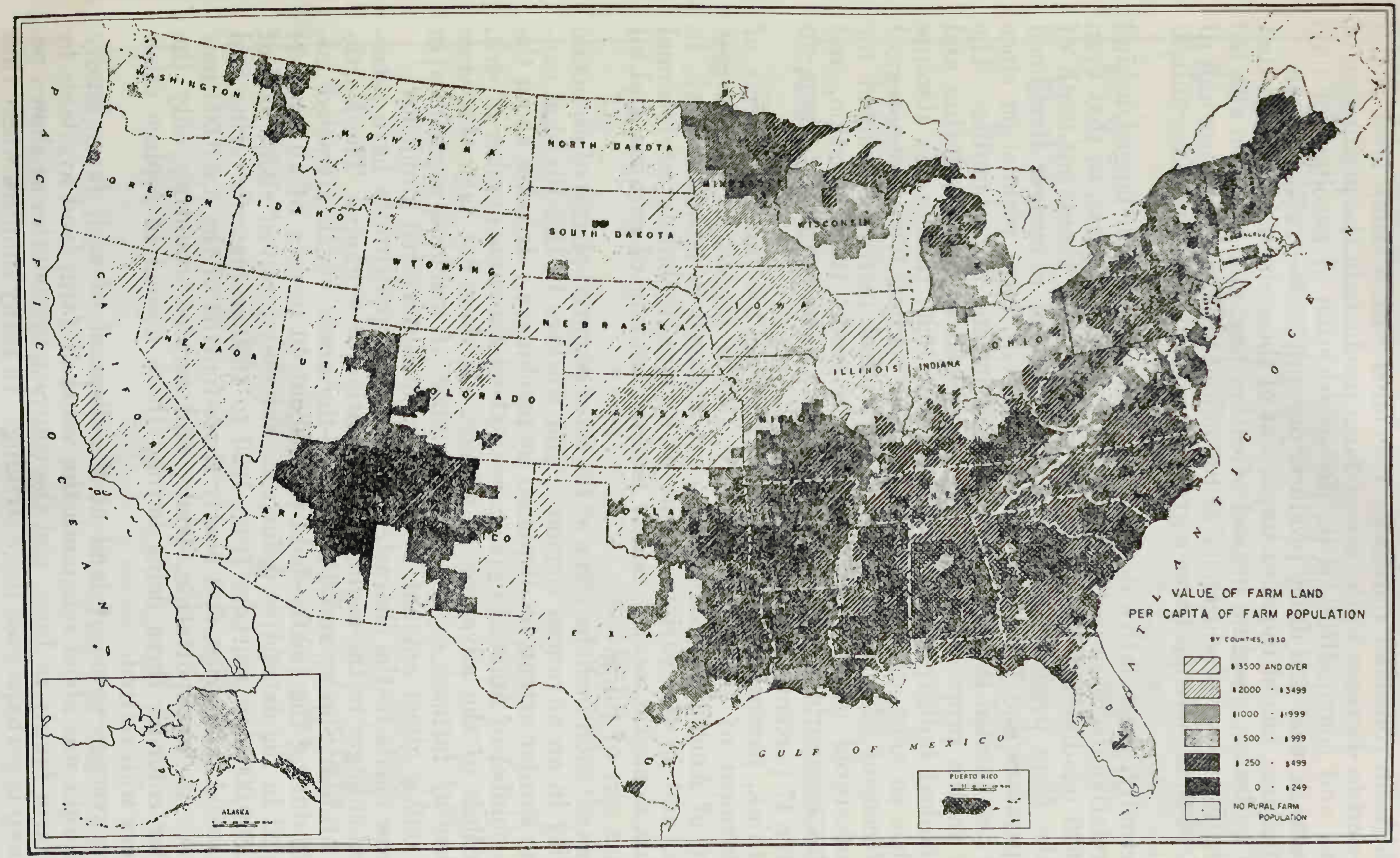

VALUE OF FARM LAND
PER CAPITA OF FARM POPULATION
BY COUNTIES, 1930
$3500 AND OVER
$2000 - $3499
$1000 - $1999
$500 - $999
$250 - $499
0 - $249
NO RURAL FARM POPULATION
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
ALASKA
PUERTO RICO

FIGURE C—LORIMER

Density of farm population relative to land values.

The proportion of all workers engaged in extractive industries declined from 45 percent in 1880 to 25 percent in 1930. This is due to the rapid increase in productivity per worker on farms and mines, to shifts in consumer purchases associated with a rising level of living, and to decrease in the use of farm products in the production of power and commodities, e. g., the substitution of gasoline for hay, increase in meat and dairy products per unit of feed, and so forth.

Of course, one of the most important of those shifts is the fact that steel mules eat gasoline instead of eating hay, and it is also affected by the increased productivity of bacon and milk and eggs per unit of feed, so that there has beeen a great decrease in the demand for animal feed.

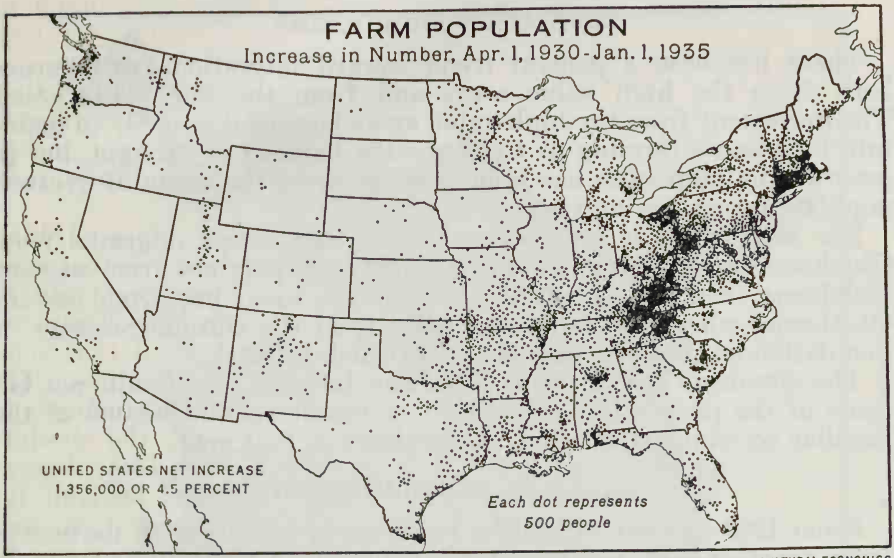
Actually, the relative decrease in farm population lagged behind the relative decrease in the demand for farm products, so that even in 1930 one-half of the farms, producing only about one-tenth of all the farm products sold or traded, yielded a meager livelihood to operators and laborers. The increase of farm population since 1930 has swelled the ranks of these low-income farm families. The peak in the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was reached about 1920, though the absolute number so engaged was higher in 1930. After 1920, technological displacement of workers in large part offset increased demand for manufactured goods. Opportunities in trade, transportation, and service occupations, on the other hand, have constantly risen, to include 47 percent of all workers in 1930.

I think, parenthetically, we are thinking too much in terms of employment of farm and industry, to the neglect of this largest group of American workers, who are engaged in technical work, in trade, and in the various forms of service, including professional service, domestic service, beauty parlors, tending of garages, and all of that sort of thing.

This division includes some of the most essential phases of economic activity in an advanced economy, and workers in this division cannot, to similar extent, be displaced by machinery. It takes about the same number of nurses to give care to about the same number of sick, regardless of the advances in science. It does not take the same number of farmers or the same number of machine mechanics to turn out a given amount of farm or manufactured products.

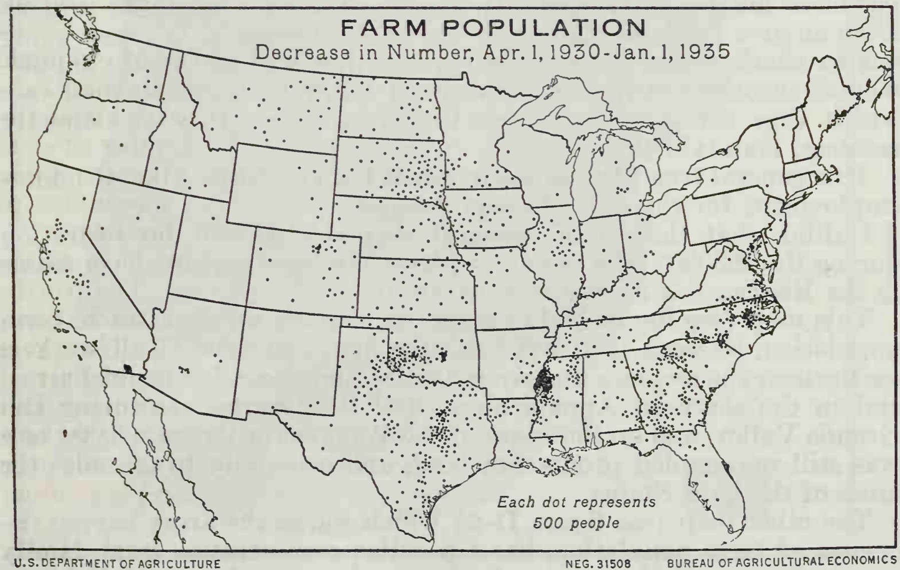
These shifts in the character of economic opportunity have necessitated changes in the regional distribution of workers. The Northeast, Middle States, and Far West—the areas which attracted migrants during the 1920's—hold only about 40 percent of all workers engaged in the extractive industries, but they received about half of the 1,300,000 new workers from 1920 to 1930 in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and nearly three-fourths of the 6,200,000 new workers in transportation, trade, and service, counting only the number entering these fields beyond those needed to replace other workers who retired.

The average value of land at the disposal of each farm family in Georgia was about one-tenth the value of farm land available to each farm family in Iowa, and the contrast by counties as shown on this map is perhaps even more striking. In many counties where this


FARM POPULATION
Increase in Number, Apr. 1, 1930-Jan. 1, 1935
UNITED STATES NET INCREASE
1,356,000 OR 4.5 PERCENT
Each dot represents
500 people

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEG. 31507 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE D-1—LORIMER


FARM POPULATION
Decrease in Number, Apr. 1, 1930-Jan. 1, 1935
Each dot represents
500 people

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEG. 31508 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE D-2—LORIMER

Changes in farm population, 1930–35.

high pressure of population on resources is shown by the black stippled shading, the value of land per worker in agriculture is less than $250. That is the capital with which he has to work. In many other counties, it is well over 10 times that figure.

MIGRATION FROM FARMS

There has been a general trend toward migration from farms, both from the high value areas and from the low value areas. The movement from the high value areas has come in order to maintain large-scale farming or to escape the hazards of drought, but in general, the migration has been heaviest from the areas of greatest population pressure on resources.

For instance, it is interesting to note that recent migrants from Oklahoma to California have come in largest part not from western Oklahoma, which was within the drought area, but from eastern Oklahoma, where they were suffering from the chronic pressure of population on meager resources with which to work.

The situation in California for farm laborers is difficult, not because of the pressure of population on resources, but because of the peculiar economic structure of agriculture in that area.

URBAN TO RURAL MIGRATION

From 1930 to 1940, migration has been in large part a movement from areas of high productivity but heavy unemployment to areas of lower productivity but greater security, provided by poorly paid regular or part-time employment, or through subsistence farming, or both.

We parenthetically introduce the reference that we also have a trend for people to seek their support through a division of dependence on the resources of two areas, seeking subsistence support from an area perhaps where they have their residence, but then going out to another area to get employment that will give some supplemental income which will, in view of the very limited subsistence which they can maintain from the areas where they are directly resident, maintain them.

This general trend has in other words been a substitution of underemployment for the risk of unemployment.

I think that that is the general characteristic of the migration during the 1930's. The return to placer mining on abandoned claims in the Rockies is a dramatic illustration.

This map (see figure D–1) shows the location of increases in farm population, between 1930 and 1935, the first half of the 1930's. You see the heavy increases occur around cities, and around industrial areas, and in the southern Appalachians, and the Ozarks, the upper Rio Grande Valley, and on the edges of the Willamette Valley where there was still unoccupied production land, and especially in the cut-over areas of the Lake States.

The other map (see figure D–2) which shows the areas having decreases of farm population, has a peculiar concentration in the Delta areas. In general, these maps show a movement to the areas of highest agricultural productivity and also the piling up of farm population in areas of subsistence farming opportunities, including the small parts on the outskirts of cities.

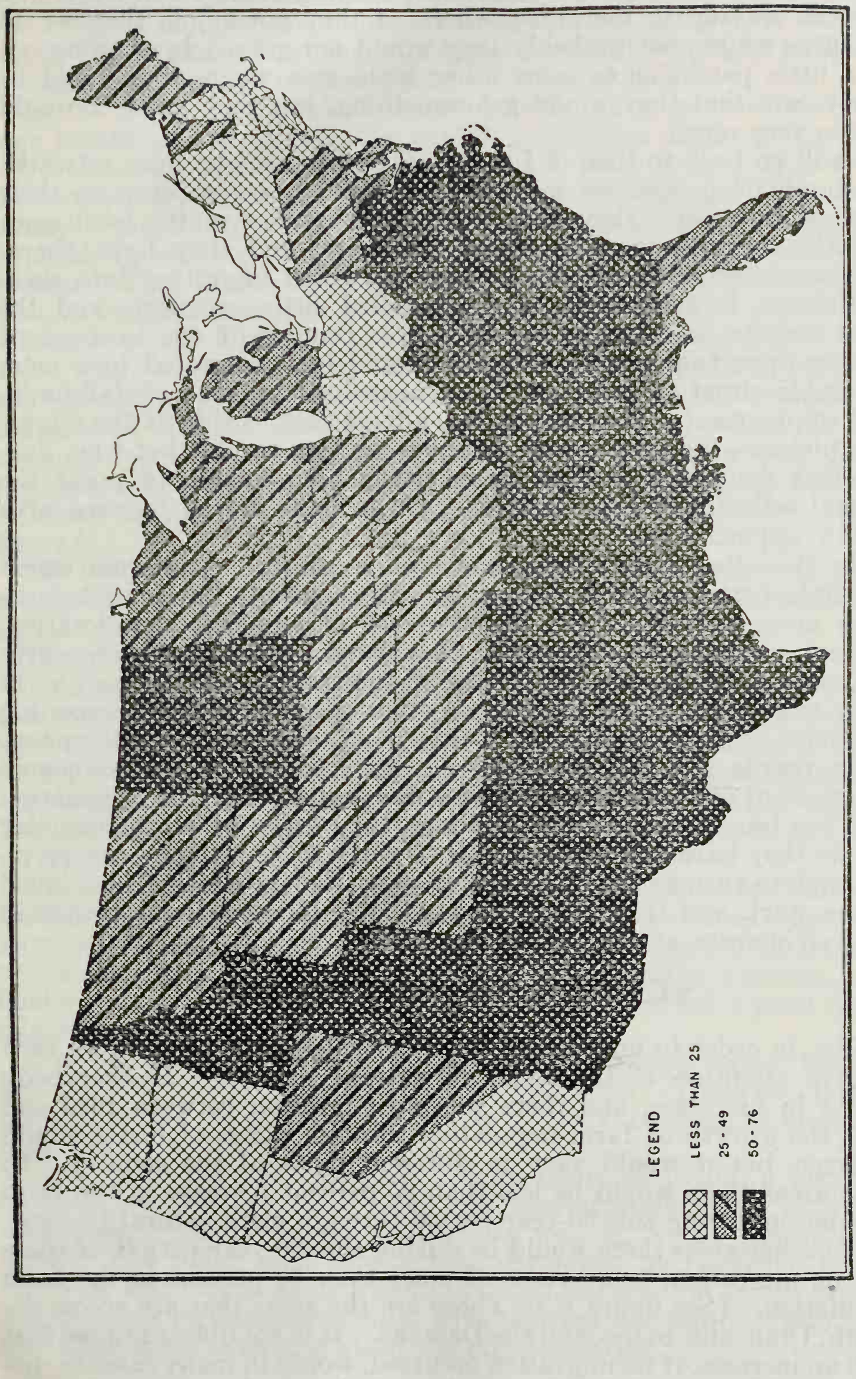

LEGEND
LESS THAN 25
25-49
50-76

FIGURE E—LORIMER

Expected increase in farm population, on hypothesis of no migration, 1930–60.

Mr. Curtis. At this point, Professor Lorimer, might the conclusion be drawn that some of those people moving to the farms, the type of farm providing subsistence, are victims of depression in the cities?

Dr. Lorimer. Yes; that is the implication, that they had the choice between staying in the cities, where, if they got a job, they would get large wages, but probably they would not get a job, or going out to a little patch, or to some other little area where they could be fairly sure that they would get something, but they knew it would not be very much.

I will go back to this, if I may. The millions who have retreated in search of meager security have suffered a severe drop in their level of living but they have not caused conflict in the local communities, or created very special problems, and they have, therefore, attracted little attention; that is, whose migration into these subsistence farming areas have attracted little attention, and the same may be said of the young people coming of age in areas of meager opportunity who normally would have migrated to a more favorable situation but have been restrained by fear of failure to find employment. That is, I think, a more serious side of the migration picture—the people who do not come into trouble but who, during this depression period, have either been unable to make the normal adjustment by migration or who have moved to some area of low opportunity.

On the other hand, there has been a smaller countermovement which has stirred public attention. Some people have burst forth from areas suffering from the slow rot of economic deterioration, without awaiting the assurance of any real opportunity anywhere else, only to encounter new times of frustration. These people, in other words, are doing the reverse stunt of moving from deepening underemployment to areas in which they encounter unemployment. These people, I think, may be well characterized as the "economic refugees" of our very imperfect economic order. They flee a situation that has become intolerable, although they know of no opportunity nor do they have any assurance as to work to which they can move.

I wish to turn to the other one of these factors which I mentioned at the start, and in which I am especially interested, the trends in natural increase as they affect migration.

NATURAL INCREASE IN POPULATION

Now, in order to understand the other side of the picture, we need to give attention to the trend in natural increase. If everybody stayed in his place, and there was no migration between 1930 and 1960, the growth of farm population through excess of births would be large, but it would vary in different parts of the country. In some areas there would be less than 25-percent increase in the farm population during this 30-year period through mere natural increase, but in other areas there would be during this 30-year period, if there was no migration, an increase of more than 50 percent in the farm population. (See figure E.) Those are the areas that are across the South, Utah, and Idaho, and the Dakotas. It is not difficult to see that such an increase, if no migration occurred, would in many cases be disastrous. Moreover, it has been estimated that at the present time the number of young people coming to productive age each year in the farm population of the Nation is about twice as large as the number who would normally be withdrawn by death or retirement of older workers. Now, this is, in part, a matter of rural-urban differential in reproductivity. For the farm population of the Nation as a whole the ratio of children to women of child-bearing age was 69 percent above the number shown by this black line that would be sufficient to replace the number of their parents. (See figure F.)

In the cities, on the whole, even in 1930, the number of children was insufficient to replace the parent population from which they were derived. For the cities as a whole there was a 14-percent deficiency. By this time it is undoubtedly much larger; that deficiency is much larger than 14 percent. This is for the native white population, and the rural-urban differential among Negroes is even greater. That is, the difference between the rural Negroes in reproductive tendencies is even greater than it is in the white population.

Moreover, the highest reproductive tendency is found in the very areas where economic opportunity is low. This map shows the estimated natural increase per generation for each of the counties in the United States. The absolutely white counties, which do not show up very large on the map, but which include a very large population because the big cities are in these counties, are counties in which the net reproductivity is below the replacement level. (See figure G.)

The very dark areas are those in which there are more than 75 percent more children born in each generation than would suffice to replace the parent stock.

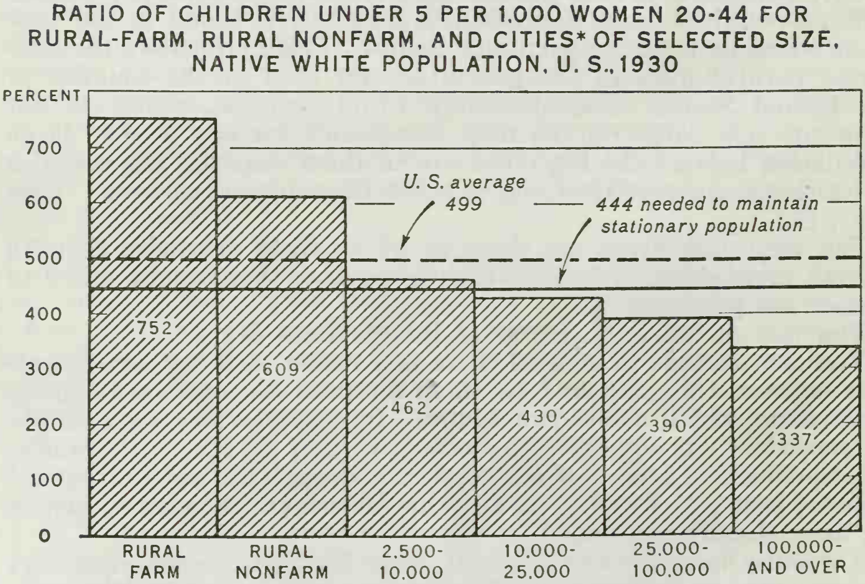
The various shadings represent intermediate degrees.

You can see that in general there is a rather striking correspondence between this map and the map on the ratio of population to land values, which was shown earlier. In general, the areas of highest reproductivity appear in Aroostook County in Maine, the southern Appalachian area, sections scattered through the old Cotton and Tobacco Belts, the Ozark area, also this eastern Oklahoma area, which we have already mentioned.

The same holds for two adjacent areas, the Spanish-American and Indian areas, in Arizona and New Mexico, and the areas where the Mormon influence is strong, in Utah and Idaho; then North Dakota, where there is a rural population with strong foreign elements, and finally the Lake-State cut-over area which has received a good many migrants during the last decade.

The highest rates of increase are found in areas where the opportunity for effective productivity is already low. These two factors together create the pressure that forces a constant stream of migrants from the poorer rural area.

If counties are grouped according to plane of living, a negative relation between economic level and reproductive trend is found within each broad regional division as well as in the Nation as a whole. The index used here is that developed by Goodrich in the Study of Population Redistribution. You can see that in the Southeast the most prosperous counties have the very low reproduction rate. The same thing is true in all of the other counties.



RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20-44 FOR RURAL-FARM, RURAL NONFARM, AND CITIES* OF SELECTED SIZE, NATIVE WHITE POPULATION, U. S., 1930

*SOURCE: CITIES POPULATION STATISTICS NATIONAL DATA NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

U. S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEG. 38260 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE F—LORIMER

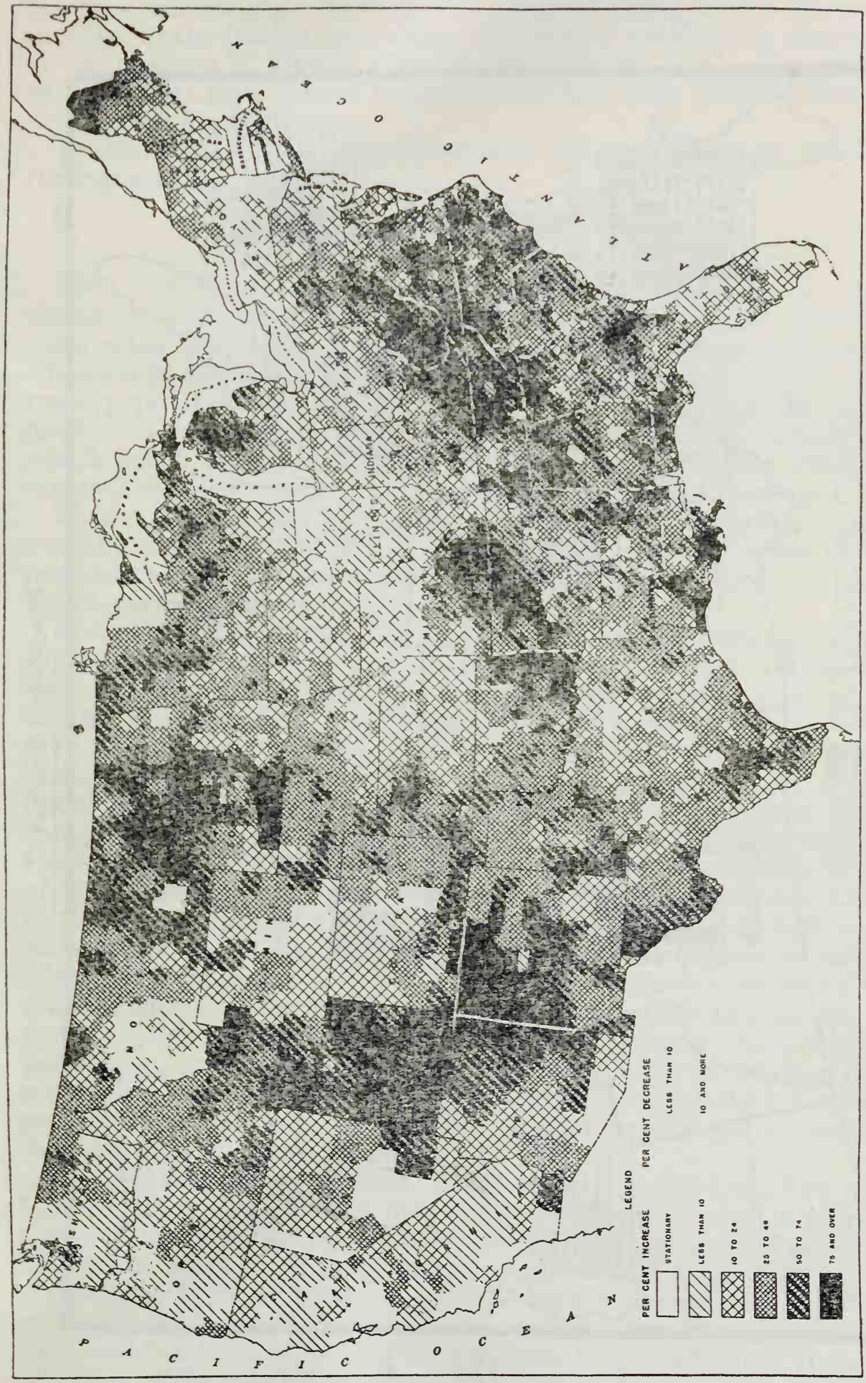

ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
LEGEND
PER CENT INCREASE
STATIONARY
LESS THAN 10
10 TO 24
25 TO 49
50 TO 74
75 AND OVER
PER CENT DECREASE
LESS THAN 10
10 AND MORE

FIGURE G–LORIMER
Net reproduction rates by counties, 1930.

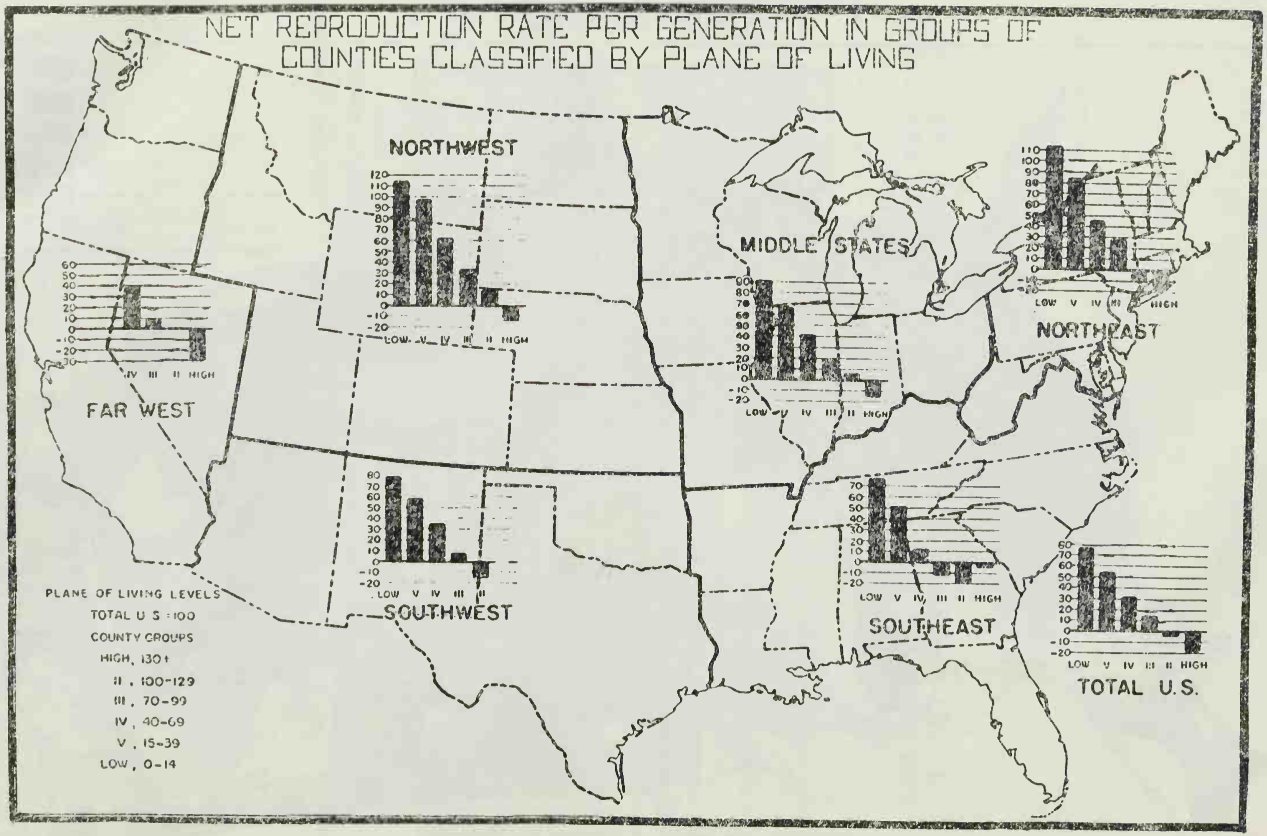

NET REPRODUCTION RATE PER GENERATION IN GROUPS OF COUNTIES CLASSIFIED BY PLANE OF LIVING
NORTHWEST
MIDDLE STATES
NORTHEAST
FAR WEST
SOUTHWEST
SOUTHEAST
TOTAL U.S.
LOW V IV III II HIGH
PLANE OF LIVING LEVELS
TOTAL U S =100
COUNTY GROUPS
HIGH, 130+
II, 100-129
III, 70-99
IV, 40-69
V, 15-39
LOW, 0-14

FIGURE H—LORIMER

Now, for the Nation as a whole shown in the bar at the lower right, when all of the counties are combined, in the one situation of the counties that ranged lowest on this plane of living index, the poorest counties in the Nation as a whole, the ratio of children to women was on the average 77 percent above the replacement level. For every 10 children that they needed to have to replace their parents, they had practically 18 children.

In the two highest groups of counties the reproductivity was below the replacement level.

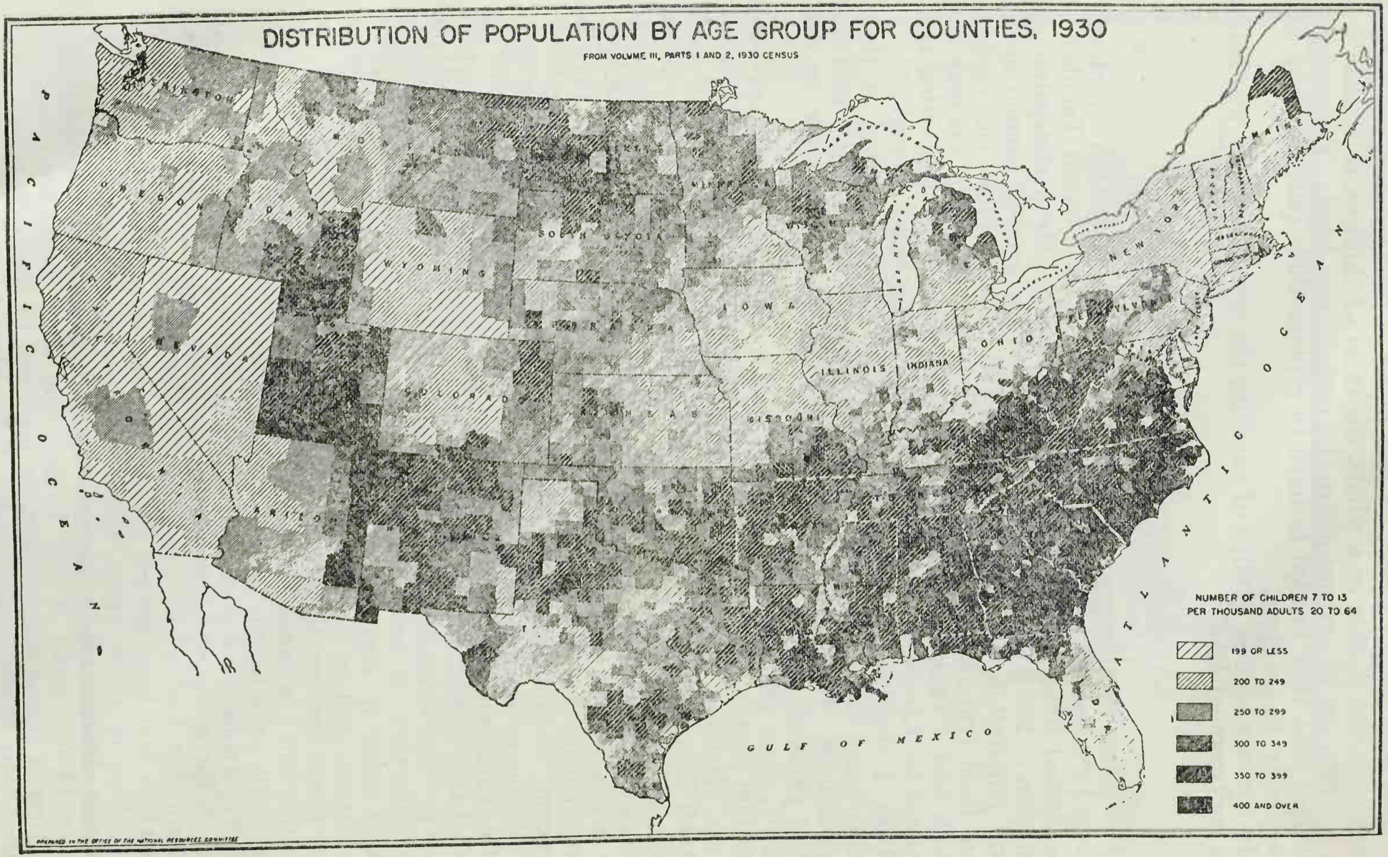
EFFECTS OF POPULATION PRESSURE

Now, the significance of these trends for migration is clearly shown by a special tabulation carried out by Dr. Conrad Taeuber of the United States Department of Agriculture. He investigated the situation in 220 counties where the ratio of children to women in the rural population was on the average 100 percent above the replacement level (ranging up from 880 children per thousand women) and which had a rank below 30 on the rural plane-of-living index constructed by Lively, where 100 represents the national average.

This, I should say, refers only to the rural population of these counties and the plane of living is the plane-of-living index of rural populations. It is just a comparison between rural people in different parts of the country.

Now, these 220 counties in 1920 had a rural population of over 4,000,000 people, and the very poor counties were high in reproductivity. Between 1920 and 1930 there was a net migration of over 600,000 people out of those counties—equal to about 16 percent of the original population. This is a high rate of net migration, though it is not as high a rate as is sometimes found in more prosperous areas, partly because migration from such communities may be dampened by the very poverty handicaps of the groups living there. However, we did have the migration of 630,000 people, but in spite of this heavy exodus, there were nearly 300,000 more people living in the rural areas of these 220 counties than they had before they started this migration, and in the words of the Red Queen to Alice, in Alice in Wonderland, they were running very fast to get away from their situation, in terms of migration out but they had to run that fast in order to stay in the same place, in order to have the same population, and in fact they did not quite achieve staying in the same place because their population increased. If they wanted to get anywhere, in terms of reduced ratio of population to resources, they would have to run twice as fast.

Now, during the depression, in general, they could not run at all. That is for many of these areas they could not or did not dare to migrate for fear of the risk of unemployment at the other end. Therefore you have gotten during the 1930's, a great piling up of population in these areas where the excess of natural increase is normally drained off by migration, until in some places, the people just could not stand it any longer, and they broke out from this situation of increasing population pressure, to camp on roadsides in southeastern Missouri, or wander from place to place in California in search of jobs that did not exist.



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUP FOR COUNTIES, 1930

FROM VOLUME III, PARTS 1 AND 2, 1930 CENSUS

PREPARED IN THE OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

NUMBER OF CHILDREN 7 TO 13 PER THOUSAND ADULTS 20 TO 64
▨ 199 OR LESS
▨ 200 TO 249
▨ 250 TO 299
▨ 300 TO 349
▨ 350 TO 399
▨ 400 AND OVER
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
NEVADA
WYOMING
SOUTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MISSOURI
COLORADO
KANSAS
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
MAINE
ARIZONA

FIGURE I—LORIMER

Children of school age per 1,000 adults aged 20–64 years, 1930.

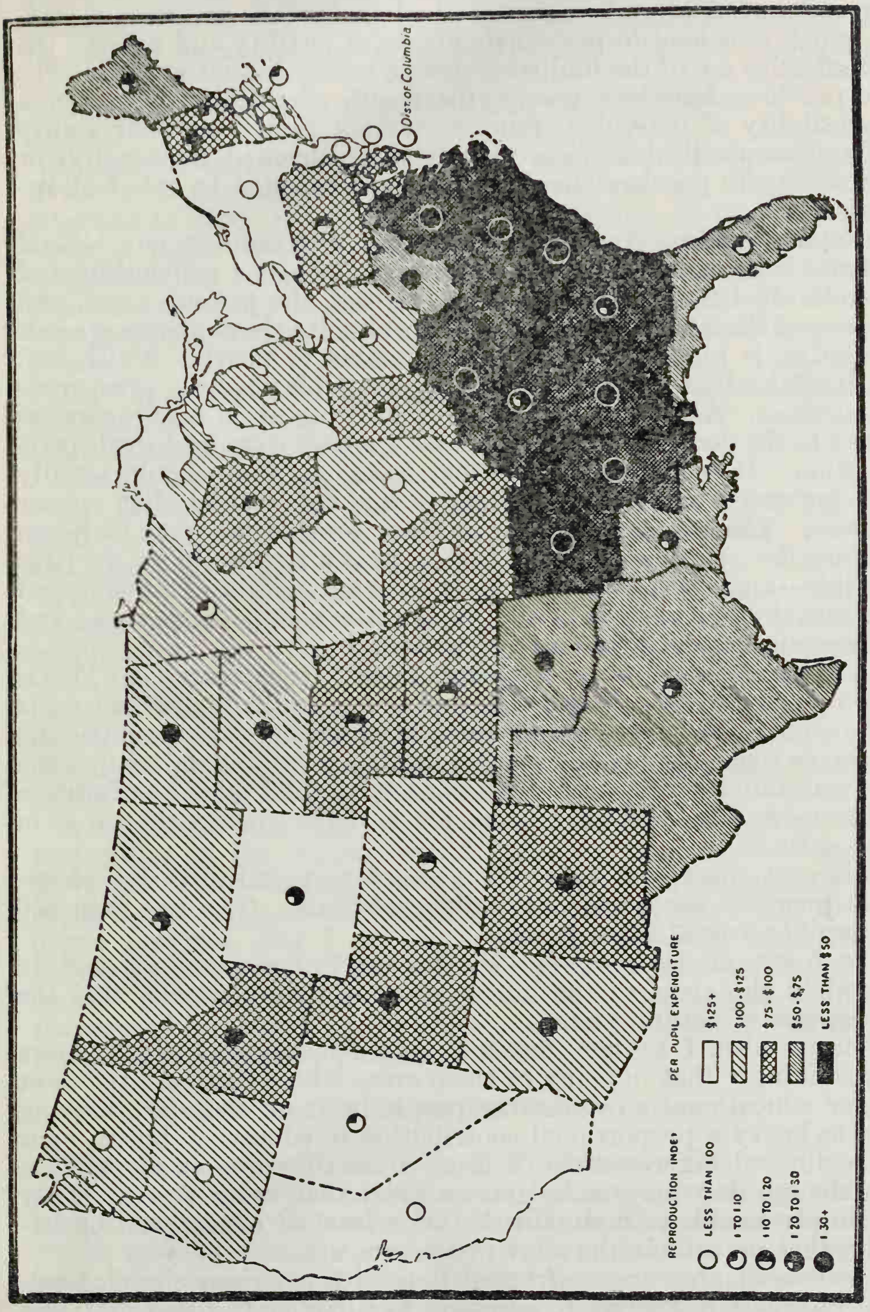

Dist. of Columbia
REPRODUCTION INDEX
LESS THAN 100
1 TO 110
110 TO 120
120 TO 130
130+
PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE
$125+
$100-$125
$75-$100
$50-$75
LESS THAN $50

FIGURE J—LORIMER

Expenditure per pupil for education by States, in relation to net reproduction rates.

CULTURAL RETARDATION

The situation is further complicated by institutional factors and conditions which make for cultural retardation in areas where the proportion of children is highest and where there is greatest poverty, and which thus tend to perpetuate excessive fertility and prevent the most effective use of the limited economic resources that are available.

In previous American theory, the health of children is purely a responsibility of individual families—except insofar as their ability to purchase medical services may be supplemented by charity, or their ability to purchase food may be supplemented by relief allowances.

Also in previous American theory the provision of educational facilities is a purely local responsibility, or at best a responsbility of the individual States. The poorest families, the poorest areas, and the poorest States, where the ratio of children to the supporting adult population is highest, are absolutely unable to provide health and educational advantages equal to those available in more prosperous communities. As a result, the children growing up in rural areas are subject to the demoralization of disease, malnutrition, and inadequate education. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should usually make low scores on intelligence tests, or that they should often appear shiftless. The people who live in more prosperous areas, through their neglect of these matters, have a heavy responsibility for this situation—a situation which sends a constant stream of ill-equipped migrants into American cities, undermines our democracy, and weakens our capacity for national defense.

I will just show two charts relating to that. (See figure I.) This is the proportion of school age to the supporting adults in different parts of the country, varying from less than 200 children per thousand adults who carry their support, to over 400 children per thousand adults who must maintain their support. The burden for child care and education is thus more than doubled in some areas of the country than it is in other areas.

This next chart (see figure J) represents expenditures for educational purposes per pupil in the different States, from less than $50 per pupil to over $125 per pupil.

The insert circles represent the natural increase trends, and in general in the areas of the lowest expenditure we usually find the highest rate of natural increase.

You are also, I assume, familiar with the material which shows very strikingly that in many of these areas where there are the most meager educational advances the people in those areas are making fully as heavy a proportional contribution to education, but in view of the limited tax resources of those areas they are simply unable, even though they may make greater effort than other States. They are simply unable to maintain the same level of educational opportunity that prevails in the more prosperous areas.

I believe that we are confronted thus with a vicious circle of cultural retardation, leading to excessive fertility, and excessively large families, leading to increasing population pressure in those local areas.

It is leading toward deepening poverty, which leads again toward cultural retardation, excessive fertility, population pressure, and deepening poverty.

We must have a safety valve which does not operate with such force as to solve the problem but simply to relieve it in a minor degree. I believe that we must discover ways of breaking this vicious chain of forces, and such, I would take it, is a part of the high responsibility of this committee. It is to consider the forces which lie back of the symptoms which we frequently find so distressing.

FORCED RESETTLEMENT UNSUCCESSFUL

In conclusion, permit me to suggest some lines of approach which, it seems to me, merit your serious consideration. The history of attempts to force redistribution of population, or resettlement, records a series of failures. Most of the ambitious resettlement schemes (I am referring even more to experience in other countries than to experience in our own country; attempts to decide where people should live and moving them there), have usually proved a failure.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not agree with Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt on that?

Dr. LORIMER. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of his solutions.

Dr. LORIMER. I think that there must be—I am departing a moment—I think that there must be a basis for economic attraction and then I think people will spontaneously move to it. I think that we can do something to control the opportunities but I think the attempt arbitrarily to move people to particular areas where other people might think that they ought to be usually does not work.

On the other hand, I think it would be equally disastrous to attempt to freeze the present inequitable distribution of people in relation to resources, particularly in view of the fact that this situation is a dynamic one, so that the pressure tends constantly to increase in the very areas of least opportunity.

A sustained expansion of industrial, commercial, and service opportunities in the Nation would induce a spontaneous large-scale movement from depressed areas to areas of expanding and stable opportunity. We, as a Nation, are capable of achieving such economic progress, and I do not accept the defeatist thesis that we have come to the end of our economic progress; and apart from such general economic expansion there can be no permanent solution of the special problems of American agriculture, or of many acute problems presented by particular areas.

RESPONSIBILITY OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

There are, however, other lines of advance which need not wait on such over-all economic expansion but are contributory and complementary to it. Measures which will improve the morale of rural youth and increase the capacity of farm families to make fuller use of the resources at their disposal have already been developed by the Farm Security Administration and other agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with State agencies and county committees. These measures need to be extended and supplemented. I should like to propose for your consideration the following thesis about our policy regarding more handicapped rural areas:

> No American community should be permanently dependent on outside subsidy for the maintenance of a decent standard of living. Sound adjustment of population to resources is ultimately dependent on local initiative. But the limitation on long-time Federal action implicit in these statements should not be applied to measures concerned with health, education, or other activities essential for building community morale and for the development of individual capacities. The Nation has a direct and primary interest in the quality of its citizens and in providing equal opportunity to all for the development of their individual capacities.

The stabilization of rural communities in the United States is dependent in part on the reduction of the excessive fertility now characteristic of families in many depressed areas to another level at most no higher than that prevailing among prosperous farm families.

This in turn is dependent on cultural progress and advance in the standard of living in this area.

In view of all of these considerations it has become a primary responsibility of the Federal Government to effect further advances in health, education, and standards of living, which will both equip those who are going to remain in areas that are now depressed to achieve economic and social advance in their own communities and at the same time equip those who must move elsewhere to participate effectively in the social and economic life of the communities into which they move.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Professor—Congressman Curtis, do you wish to ask some questions?

Mr. CURTIS. I would make this observation. I think that the professor has made a valuable contribution to our committee. It occurs to me that there are perhaps some new factors since 1930. There have been some industrial developments in some sections, the so-called Dust Bowl is something that did not exist in 1930, and I hope that he would, after the bulk of these figures are available this fall—that you would supplement your paper at that time with some further deductions.

Now, I think that the committee expects to hold a Washington hearing in November or December, and sufficient census returns will be in at least to show major trends, and I hope that he can give us something at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sparkman, do you have something?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was glad to hear Mr. Curtis make that suggestion. I was going to make it, too, but I rather doubt the availability of the figures at that time.

Dr. LORIMER. We will have simply the changes in the total population, and we will not be able to have the more detailed analyses. Of course, the census population figures are going to supply the most valuable information that we have ever had on migration, through this question, "In what place did this person live on April 15, 1935," and the number and characteristics of migrants are going to be analyzed in reference to the places from which they come and the places to which they go and the Census is rendering a very valuable service in providing that information, but it will be probably about a year before that information is available.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I want to say that I think your charts and your statement have been very valuable, and of service to illustrate that vicious circle that you described.

Inasmuch as there is no longer a great amount of unused land in this country, we might as well become used to the fact that this economic pressure that grows out of excessive reproduction in certain areas, and the lack of economic security in those areas, that those factors are going to continue to keep this migration flowing, and that it has become acutely a national problem and one that consideration must be given to in order to arrive at some means, not necessarily of checking it, because I do not believe it can be checked, but of easing up the conditions as much as possible, and as these factors become more forceful the problem will become, probably, even greater.

SLOW MODIFICATION OF SITUATION

Dr. **Lorimer**. Well, we have at the present time a rather acute situation, in that we have had a damming up to some extent of the natural movement, so that the situation is more acute now. I think that it will exist for a long time.

I think, on the other hand, the factors which are responsible for this situation are subject to slow modification, and I do not think it is a situation that the Nation needs permanently to face. There is, for instance, a tendency toward fairly rapid decrease in fertility in these poorest classes. The pattern of family limitation first began among the most prosperous groups, and then it gradually spread out, and it was very interesting that between 1920 and 1930 the greatest drops in fertility occurred among the groups previously characterized by the highest fertility, particularly the foreign-born in American cities, for which the rates dropped very rapidly between 1920 and 1930, but also in the poor rural areas, there was a drop which was more rapid than in the Nation as a whole.

I think that there is a tendency toward equalization of rates of natural increase in the Nation; and I think that if we set our minds to it we can do something to equalize health and educational opportunties which will facilitate the adjourment through migration and also the improvement of these areas. So that I think that we can slowly break into this vicious circle, but it is going to take decades, and it cannot be done in a year or a day.

(Booklet, compilation of maps and charts, was received in evidence and marked as an exhibit.)

MALDISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Mr. **Sparkman**. May I ask you one more question? What do you mean by saying that it is acute at the present time because of the fact that the natural flow had been to a certain extent dammed up? In what way has it been dammed up?

Dr. **Lorimer**. Well, for the farm population as a whole, during the preceding 20 years prior to 1930, you had a decrease in farm population, which was a natural adjustment of the relative decrease in economic opportunity of the farm population compared with other sections.

During the 1930's, we had this estimated increase, which wipes out all of the reduction that had occurred during the previous 20 years, leaving the farm population larger, and then when we analyze that in more detail we find that this increased farm population has been mostly not in areas where there were large land values to exploit but in subsistence areas where the incomes were already low, and there has been a damming up during the thirties of the trend toward a natural adjustment in areas like the cut-over area in the Great Lakes States, which were areas from which there was being rapid migration.

Then there has been some piling back of population into those areas, the new areas of low opportunity, and meanwhile the increase has been going on and it has not been adequately relieved by migration, so that we have a situation in which there is a great maldistribution of population today in relation to potential opportunity, and greater than there was 10 years ago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you. That is all.

CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE

Mr. OSMERS. There was one point in the testimony of Dr. Lorimer that interested me. He cited the large migration from part of Oklahoma, where the per capita resources were very low, to the State of California, where the per capita resources are very high.

Now, just looking at that from an offhand standpoint, one would say that that was a good migration, that people had moved out of a low-resources area into a high-resources area, but you used the words "the peculiar economic structure of California," and I wonder if you would just give us a word of explanation of that peculiarity which has made that migration, from an offhand standpoint, seem a proper one. Why it has worked out so disastrously in California?

Dr. LORIMER. Of course, in California a large portion of the agriculture is on a very highly capitalistic basis.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean large owners?

Dr. LORIMER. Very large owners of tracts of land, with very heavy investment in irrigation lands. Very heavy financial investment was necessary for the development of the type that has taken place. And then there is the situation that much of the agriculture is of a highly seasonal character, and that its development has been dependent upon a succession of laborers, first the immigrants from the Orient and then from Mexico, and then finally their places taken by persons whose standards of living has not been very much different, but who are from our own American native stock.

The whole history of land holdings and economic organizations in California means that the opportunity for the exploitation of agriculture is not spread in any equitable distribution among all of those engaged in agriculture.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say a possible future solution of that problem in California would be the development of smaller farms, that is, almost subsistence farms in the State of California?

Dr. LORIMER. I am really not prepared to answer that question. I am rather doubtful about that, and I am not sufficiently familiar with that particular situation to discuss it in terms of solution.

Mr. **Osmers.** It would seem to me that an individual farmer with 50 or 100 acres would have a very bad time competing with a corporate farm which was run on modern industrial methods.

Dr. **Lorimer.** I am rather inclined to agree with your implication, that the answer is probably to be found in terms of a better development of the large-scale farming operations, with some regularization of labor opportunities, rather than through a competing type of small subsistence farming development, but that is simply an impression.

Mr. **Osmers.** I have just two more questions that I would like to ask Professor Lorimer.

TREND TOWARD EQUALIZATION OF BIRTH RATES

Would you say, as a result of your very extensive studies on the population question, that we can look toward a generally lower natural increase of the population, in all classes of the population all over the country?

Dr. **Lorimer.** I think that in some classes of the population the reduction in size of family which has already gone very far may have reached its limit, but that limit is, for the urban population, far below the replacement level. I think that in the groups now characterized by very high fertility, there will be a trend toward lowering, and I think that the farm families will continue to have a higher rate of natural increase, but a natural increase like that now found, say, in central Illinois, which is about at the replacement level, rather than these extremely large families that are characteristic of the more isolated and handicapped areas. I think that there will be a trend toward equalization of birth rates, but that equalization is going to result in a general trend which will be inadequate for the permanent replacement of the national population, and that will raise some new and large and very interesting questions.

"FRICTIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT"

Mr. **Osmers.** There is just another interesting thing, in respect to my last question, that has to do with new industries that are developed. I am looking back, well, say, now, to 1900, before they had a radio industry, a motion-picture industry, an automobile industry, an aviation industry, and innumerable others. Have you found in your studies that it takes the population, or the people of the country, from 3 to 4 years to adjust themselves to some of those industries?

In other words, there might be a decrease in the number of livery-stable workers as a result of the automobile, but a great increase in the number of automobile makers, and that those changes which may not be as rapid in the future always take several years to work themselves out.

Dr. **Lorimer.** You have a certain amount of what the economists call "frictional unemployment," when people are shifting from a declining to an expanding operation.

Mr. **Osmers.** I have in mind the migration of the textile industry from New Jersey to North and South Carolina and the resultant upset that it has upon the economic situation in New Jersey and Massachusetts, for example.

Dr. **Lorimer**. But I think that that temporary disability is less serious as a problem than this unemployment trend due to the fact that there has been decline in many industries without any expansion anywhere adequate to absorb the slack. That is the big problem, and I think that if the expansion occurs people will move to and adjust themselves to those oportunities, although there is a certain friction in the process and a certain loss in the process.

POPULATION REGISTRATION SYSTEM

Congressman Osmers, I would like, if I may, to speak of a point which you questioned Mayor LaGuardia about—this matter of the possible development of a population registration system. I have been interested in that for some time and that is a matter in which the statisticians are very much interested. That has been worked out very well in some of the smaller European countries, notably in Sweden and Holland. There they have a system in which every person is registered in a local office. When a birth occurs a new card is made for the individual, and when a death occurs that appears in the register, and then in some countries when a person changes his permanent residence he reports to some office, perhaps a police officer or register's office, in the new area to which he moves, and that area communicates with his home area, and his registration card is sent to the files of the area where he lives, and he also carries an identification card that ties in with his registration card. That is within the system.

Of course, that is very beautiful from the standpoint of statistics; it gives a yearly record of migration from area to area, a very excellent account of the whole movement of population, both natural increase and migration.

So much so that some countries have dispensed with taking a Federal census, and have simply gotten their census result by tallying up these local registration offices, although it is usually supplemented by a census procedure.

That has been associated with the increased services, like our social security service and other community services to the State. Eventually, I think, we probably will want to move in this country toward such a continuous register of the population. It is technically the most beautiful thing. It does, however, involve a good deal of expense and a good deal of difficulty for such a far-flung country as the United States, but I think it is a thing worth serious consideration of the legislators, and whether the time is ripe for it at present I would hate to say. But the study of those European systems is a very interesting thing.

Mr. **Osmers**. I might interrupt you there by putting a definite type of question. The temper of the American people might be found very much opposed to some sort of registration of that sort, and of course the social security registration, where nearly every wage-earning adult has been registered, has broken that feeling down to a certain extent, and we all have our social security cards now——

Dr. **Lorimer**. Frankly, I am inclined to feel that the present situation is not the most opportune situation for introducing such a registration system, although it might serve certain real uses in relation to the emergency. But I am very much afraid that it might be misinterpreted in rather alarmist terms, and I think that in some more normal times, if such a system were developed, and it was understood as the basis for State services rather than as a means of keeping track of individuals, or their subversive activities and their availability for military services, it perhaps might be introduced with a better flavor.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor, this committee in its questions does not indicate any decisions on our part. We are just simply a fact-finding body; you know that, do you not?

Dr. LORIMER. Yes.

NEED OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION

The CHAIRMAN. And one point that I am quite interested in is that resettlement—and, by the way, you made a very valuable contribution in your entire statement here today—but that as to resettlement, now, ex-President Hoover and Mrs. Roosevelt publicly state that that is one of the solutions, that resettlement.

One of our solutions is industrial expansion, isn't that true?

Dr. LORIMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Dr. LORIMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you take down in the South, where they plowed that land for hundreds of years and the topsoil has become powdered, and it is blowing away.

Now, personally I cannot conceive how industrial expansion is going to help those people. You have in this country millions of acres being reclaimed and irrigated; in the State of California one-half of that land is owned by the Federal Government, and now, what I would like to get your opinion on is in this industrial expansion. If it does not take place, those people, in the Southern States especially, and in the Dust Bowl area, are going to move; and will it be better for us to have them move voluntarily, as they are doing now, voluntarily, and then we don't know how to take care of them? What is the solution to that condition, do you think, down there?

Dr. LORIMER. Of course, I said economic expansion rather than industrial expansion. I think that that part of this expansion is in terms of expanded services to the people of the Nation, in such things as education and health, and I think that the most important development that might be called industrial expansion is perhaps housing development.

And the housing development should tend to be distributed wherever the people are, or at least where there is any likelihood that they are going to be for some time. It need not be centralized.

I think that much of the expansion that is needed is an expansion which might take place in expansion of economic opportunity, which might be scattered across the Nation and not merely concentrated. However, I think that there are some things that do need to be said and we do need to recognize; that there will be considerable concentration in this economic opportunity, and I think that the thing will happen that did happen during the 1920's, if there is somewhere economic opportunity, people can without great difficulty go thereto.

The situation of these economic refugees that I have referred to is that they have set forth to get out of places where they were, and they have not had any economic opportunity anywhere to go to. I would like to add one further comment.

The solution as I envisage it follows two lines. One of them is that national economic expansion, expansion of opportunity, wherever it might be economically developed.

NEED OF IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS

The other one is the improvement of living conditions, particularly in matters of health and education, and also in the more effective utilization of local resources, and conservation practices in the poorer rural areas, and I think that we may proceed along those two lines, of developing capacities of people in these poorer rural areas, of giving greater attention to their personal needs, to enable them to make adjustments in those areas, and at the same time for the Nation as a whole, to introduce measures which will make a forward economic progress and expansion of opportunity for productive enterprise.

DECREASING GROWTH OF CITIES

The Chairman. Now, Professor, we have several witnesses but for the sake of the record I would like to ask you a few questions here and I know you will be as brief as you possibly can, but I want to get it in the record.

In the first place, you have told us that according to the 1930 census, we are a Nation of city dwellers, and especially of people residing in great metropolitan centers, but according to the preliminary figures you cite the larger cities are not any longer growing rapidly, and their population of child-bearing age are not reproducing in numbers.

Am I right in assuming that you consider this an argument in favor of the encouragement of migration?

Dr. Lorimer. I think that the growth of the cities in the future will be slower than it was prior to 1920. I think we have reached or we have passed the peak of the proper expansion of the cities. Nevertheless, I think that there would normally tend to be some continuous growth of cities, and even some proportional growth of cities, but not at as rapid a rate as in the past, and I think that the slow growth of industrial and commercial areas during the 1930's is in large part the index of the pathological situation and the dampening of the normal, national economic development.

The Chairman. I noticed that you said that this country needs a sustained expansion of industrial and commercial and service opportunities to induce a sustained, spontaneous large-scale movement from depressed areas to areas of expanding and stable opportunities, also where you say that the decreasing demand for labor in manufacturing and mechanical industries is a factor in driving the population back to a subsistence way of life.

What sort of industrial expansion would solve the problem of surplus rural population, or have you answered that?

Dr. Lorimer. I think that that is a pretty large question, and I won't attempt to give any adequate answer to it. I think that the expansion of economic opportunity which should be both in industry and in service must involve the extension of both public and private enterprise and opportunity and that much of it might logically be developed into expansion of economic opportunity in rural areas, in raising the level of living of the people in rural areas, that is, such matters as rural housing, increased health and educational services, and rural electrification, and then if we develop a program of more adequate nutrition for the Nation, that will give greater employment to farmers.

I think that by any means or anywhere, expansion of economic opportunity serves to meet the problem.

POPULATION PRESSURE IN OKLAHOMA CAUSE OF OUT-MIGRATION

The Chairman. You say that migration is heaviest where population pressure on limited resources is greatest. Then you add that the greatest numbers of Oklahoma migrants to California come from eastern Oklahoma.

What is the economic situation there?

Dr. Lorimer. That, as I have already said, is, of course, as I feel, an area of population pressure. In general, it is the small farming area of general farming cotton, family farming, subsistence farming, and for a picture of the situation one might be referred to the early chapters of The Grapes of Wrath. There is one element in The Grapes of Wrath picture which is not accurate, namely, the operation of the tractors in that situation. I understand in the particular country in which the Joads were located by the author there were, according to latest returns, only two tractors in the whole county. It was not mechanization in that particular area which drove people off, and there were not many tractors running through homes, otherwise, I think, it presents very vividly and quite truthfully the picture of this increasing depression in level of living in an area of high population pressure.

The Chairman. You make an interesting distinction between underemployment and unemployment, and suggest that those who flee from underemployment often find unemployment. You call these people economic refugees.

I take it that you would not want Congress to put a stop to all such movements, even if it could. What measures can you suggest for taking care of these people at their point of origin? Do you favor such measures as are against movements of this kind?

Dr. Lorimer. I think that the attempt to stop migration would be to deal with the symptom rather than with the cause, and in fact would cause ever greater suffering. It would be like giving soothing syrup to a child that needed medical attention, and as to the measures which should be introduced, we have already discussed that to some extent and I will not go into that.

TREND OF FUTURE POPULATION TENDENCIES

The Chairman. I have heard it said that if present reproduction rates, of different groups in the country continue, the population in the year 2030 will be almost exclusively of southern white stock. Does this somewhat fanciful statement reflect a true trend?

Dr. LORIMER. Of course, it is rather an exaggerated picture, but its general tendency has some validity. Of course, there will be a few other groups that are also increasing fairly rapidly, the Spanish and Indian populations in the Southwest, which are multiplying very rapidly, and, of course, the rural Negro population is increasing as rapidly as the rural white population, although, by the way, for the Nation as a whole at the present time the rates of increase in the Negro and white population are just about identical.

If there is a continued movement of Negroes to cities, then I suspect their rate of natural increase may drop below that of the whites. If they stay largely in rural areas they are likely to increase more rapidly.

But in general I think that the picture that the present population, white population, of the Southern States will have made more than their share of contribution to the future of the Nation is very obviously a true picture. But we have there people that have cultural background, congenial to that of the Nation as a whole, and we suppose people of very good stock, but at the present time suffering from very severe handicaps.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed in the newspapers recently a statement that the New York metropolitan area has grown, according to preliminary figures for the 1940 census, more rapidly than the average for American cities. Have you any information which throws light on these differences?

Dr. LORIMER. I doubt the accuracy of that impression. I think that New York City has grown more rapidly than other cities, and some of the residential suburbs have been increasing rather rapidly, although not much more than other areas, but the industrial suburbs within the new metropolitan area, the New Jersey industrial areas, have not been increasing as rapidly as most of the cities in the United States. I think the continued growth of New York City population during the 1930's, in spite of the decrease in shipping, must be largely interpreted in terms of that tendency to the increasing importance of distributive and technical and educational activities which form so large a part of the activities of this metropolitan population, in contrast to the tendency toward decrease in employment in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any figures to indicate how many people move each year, either from country to city or city to country, and what ratio to urban or rural migrants?

Dr. LORIMER. About the only figures that are now available, prior to the excellent results which we are expecting from the 1940 census, are the figures on the movement of farm population, where, on the basis of the sample used by the Department of Agriculture, there are estimates of movements from farms to cities, towns, and villages, and from cities, towns, and villages to farms.

Now, the gross movement of population, in both directions, from farms to cities, and from cities to farms, ran over 3,000,000 people, from 1922 through 1932, shifting back and forth, one way or the other, and adding them up.

Beginning in 1933, that shifting back and forth was dampened, and there have been less than 2,000,000 each year thereafter involved, according to these estimates, in shifting back and forth between rural and urban areas, except for 1 year, the year 1932. The balance was a movement from farms to other cities, but during the latter part of the 1930's the net movement from farms to cities has been only about half as large as it was during the 1920's.

The CHAIRMAN. And this last question, Professor. Would you think it fair to say that these people are migrants but that the popular idea of a migrant was limited to those who get into difficulties while moving?

Dr. LORIMER. I am afraid that that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything more?

Thank you very much, Professor. You are very kind and your contribution is very valuable.

(Dr. Lorimer was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MISS BERTHA McCALL, GENERAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION

The CHAIRMAN. Miss McCall, will you give your name and address, and something of your present occupation and your background on this subject?

Miss McCALL. My name is Bertha McCall. I am the general director of the National Travelers Aid Association. I am here because our association, together with a number of other private national organizations, has been interested for many years in the problem of what we call "moving people." We are interested in this problem because we see the individuals, and go from the specific back to the general. You have just heard of the general, and we start with the specific and go to that general.

I have been associated with Travelers Aid in one position or another for 20 years, and so I have seen the individuals who move about this country for one cause or another. I am very glad to come to the committee today to give such information and knowledge of this subject as those of us in the national agencies have gained in these years. You may think the knowledge is quite limited, because at the present time we are quite lacking in a good many facts.

BACKGROUND OF TRANSIENT RELIEF

The national private agencies of the United States have used such terms as "nonresident," "transient," "migrant," "migratory workers," "immigrants," "travelers," "strangers," "nonsettled," "dislodged"—these are all terms that we apply to people who are without roots in a community. This group of national agencies has been interested in this problem, as I said before, for many years, but in 1932, when the depression seemed to be almost at its height, this group formed a committee known as the "National Committee on the Care of Transient and Homeless." This committee had on it a number of interested individuals but was made up primarily of individuals from the following agencies: American Public Welfare Association, American Red Cross, Child Welfare League of America, community chests and councils, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Council of Women for Home Missions, Family Welfare Association of America, International Migration Service, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, National Council of the Young Men's

Christian Association, National Travelers Aid Association, National Tuberculosis Association, National Urban League, and the Salvation Army.

While all of these agencies had been concerned with some phase or other of this problem over a period of many years, two of them—the Family Welfare Association and the National Travelers Aid—had been called on repeatedly to give special attention to coordinating the efforts of the whole group.

The problem of transiency and migration was not a new phenomenon in our history. Drought, flood, war, opening of new territory—all resulted in making individuals in the families move to new pastures in hopes of finding better ones.

In the 2 years from 1929 to 1931 there was special cause for migration. For those in our country who had remained stationary for many years, carrying on the work of the world, came the closing of shops and factories and the loss of jobs that had seemed as permanent as life itself. It is not necessary to recall the problem of transiency in the days of 1930 and 1931. The Federal Government felt the pressure of this and called upon such agencies as the National Y. W. C. A., the Family Welfare Association, the National Travelers Aid, to advise in planning for this special problem. Community after community reported that it was swamped with the numbers of people moving around, especially the young because one was doing one thing in one area and one in another.

The problem of transiency and migration was not new in 1931. We had known about it off and on for many years. I recall from my own experience seeing the letters that came into the Federal Government agency, the reconstruction group of Washington, stacked very high, from all parts of the country, saying, "Come out and help us."

The Federal Government in 1931 called on some of the national agencies to help work out a plan. We were one of those national agencies, and the Federal Government printed at that time the small report which we made to the Federal Government. It is known now as "A Community Plan for Service to Transients." The Government distributed 20,000 of these at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to have it inserted in the record?

Miss MCCALL. If you wish to have it, I would be very glad to leave this, Congressman Tolan.

(Booklet, "A Community Plan for Service to Transients," received in evidence and marked as an exhibit. Filed with the committee but not printed.)

We knew then that the problem was acute because of the depression. We warned that many stable, representative people would leave home in search of better conditions, and unless something was done would be in the way of becoming chronic wanderers. We advised in 1931 for national planning.

LACK OF ACCURATE STATISTICS ON TRANSIENCY

At that time it was almost impossible to estimate the size of the problem. There were no facilities for collecting statistics, no uniform method of recording comparable figures, even among the various private agencies.

The first task that the national committee carried on was to have a general 3-day census. You will find the figures of the census contained in the record of the congressional hearing on the Cutting bill at the time that Senators Costigan and La Follette were having hearings on that.

The only figures that were at all available were those from a limited group of agencies reporting to the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Strange as it may seem, this same condition exists today. There was a period during the time of the Federal transient program when we had a reasonably accurate and comparable method for securing some idea of the numbers of people on the march. Since the disintegration of this program we have no regular way of determining. There are all kinds of estimates, as we know, as to the number of migratory families, migratory workers, transient men, youth on the road, nonsettled people, and so forth. Perhaps the 1940 census which, at the suggestion of this above committee, has included one question on movement of people, will give us some light on the size of our moving population.

CONSTITUENCY OF TRANSIENT POPULATION

We have known for a long time the nature of the people in this group. We have evidence to prove from private agencies, from public agencies, from direct association with the transients themselves, that a transient population differs very little from the average static population. Normally the moving people are ordinary citizens seeking opportunity, except that they cannot qualify under legal settlement provisions. We all know that there was a period in which the general public looked upon transients as bums and hoboes. The Federal transient program records show that most of these people were enterprising and energetic. A good many of them had good social background and good educational preparation. Except for the fact that these people are nonresidents, they are not a distinct and separate group of Americans.

Strange as it may seem, this same condition exists today. Since the going out of the Federal transient program in 1935, we have had no national way of getting real figures. Now, the National Travelers Aid carries on a way of getting figures in its own groups. From 92 cities we have certain figures, which indicate that our 92 cities took care of 169,358 cases other than just the simple cases that go by us, that these cases represent about 400,000 individuals.

It is interesting to note that in this group, the third largest number comes to us from automobiling and hitchhiking, and not, as you might think in our organization, through railway stations, although still the largest number does come in that way. They still move that way.

But we are only a small part of the whole group, although the National Travelers Aid and its constituent agencies is primarily interested in moving people.

As I said before, since the integration of the Federal program we have had no way of determining figures, so one of the first things in a national policy is to determine a way to find what the number of people in this moving population is. When we realize that the population of the United States is a double population, a static and a moving population, and that we have facilities for everybody in the United States to move, we realize how large our moving population can be.

People who are able to take care of themselves move and people who are able to take care of themselves remain static, and people who are able to take care of themselves sometimes fall in trouble when they are moving, as all of us have, and people who are not very well able to take care of themselves fall into more difficult trouble when they go out.

John Webb, in pointing out the comparison between the transient and the general population at the time of the Federal transient program, said:

> The great majority of transients were native white persons. Negroes represented approximately one-tenth of monthly registrations and foreign-born whites approximately one-twentieth. In the transient population during the time of the Federal transient program, the proportion of native white persons was higher, the proportion of foreign-born whites lower, and the proportion of Negroes about the same as in the general population.

TRANSIENCY—1900-40

In the Travelers Aid, as in other private social-work organizations, we are interested in the problem that the individual brings to us when he comes, but we are also interested to know what is the cause back of his flight and what he is fleeing to. Now, we have learned in our experience during the past that each decade brings about certain kinds of movements.

From 1900 to 1910 and on we had the movement of young people to the city. That was one of the reasons why we became an organization.

Then from 1915 to 1925, or along there, we had the great immigration into the country. It was along about 1925 that we began to have auto transients and hitchhikers come into our terminology.

Then when we came to 1930, we got into the depression, and we got this word "transient," which began to have a rather unsavory interpretation in many of the communities.

Now we are going into another era, beginning with probably 1935 or 1936, and we are going to learn some other things, I think, about this moving population, as Dr. Lorimer has been pointing out to us. We feel that one of the greatest contributing factors to the problem private organizations have had has been the unwillingness of communities to accept the very fact that there is any problem. You go into a community of any size, and you will find from the people in the community, from the social agencies, both public and private, the statement, "We have very few problems." One of the reasons for that is because we are built as a Nation on the idea of taking care of our own in each community. In each community we have that slogan, "We take care of our own," and for that reason or some reason or other we do not think that "our own" extends beyond the urban limits, and that is making for a very great deal of difficulty.

I suppose all of you have heard until you know it by heart that we have carried down these ideas, and these laws, from the days of Queen Elizabeth, and I suppose that you have all heard our very efficient and competent Commissioner Adie say that he wishes that we would remember that Queen Elizabeth had been dead a good long time, so that we might change some of these ideas.

It has been increasingly difficult to get private funds to do anything reasonable for even the temporary current difficulty of people who come, because on the one hand people have come to say, "This is a Federal problem, and the Federal Government should take care of it. We are taking care of our own."

But when you make a casual study, as we have done, in one or two of our small communities, you will find that the communities are doing more than they have any realization of. We had a small study for 2 weeks in one of the southern cities, and we found that without anyone knowing it, here and there they had spent more than $1,200 in less than 2 weeks for groups of people who were coming and going, without any thought, without any plan to know what was happening to those people or to the money that was being used.

LACK OF UNIFORMITY IN SETTLEMENT LAWS OBSTACLE TO TRANSIENT RELIEF

One of the greatest obstacles, I would say, also—we have been pointing this out since 1910, in the private social-work group—is the lack of uniformity among the 48 States in the matter of settlement laws and also in the matter of interpretation of the troublesome matter of residence. Constantly we have been trying to find ways of bringing about some method of uniformity. We do not seem to have succeeded very well. We conceived the idea recently in the National Travelers Aid Association that if we had some specific instances of what happens to individuals and to families because of these residence requirements and the restrictions in interpretation of them, we might be able to point out to such a committee as yourselves, these difficulties. We are in the process of bringing a study to a close, and we have studied 16 cities in which we have asked for all of the cases coming to the attention of social agencies, both public and private, of cases involving legal settlement. We hope to have this material ready to present to your committee at one of your hearings before you have finished because we believe, Mr. Tolan, that it is going to give you some very distinct information as to what has happened, for instance, in Illinois.

Now, there the residence law has gone up from 1 year to 3 years, recently, and the interpretation is such that if you have not lived continuously in Illinois for 3 years before you apply for relief you are not eligible.

The CHAIRMAN. When will you have those figures available?

Miss McCALL. You can have those by August 15 or 16, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Our final meeting will be in Washington, and you will have it by that time, and we will grant you permission to present your material then, even if you do not attend the hearings.

(Summary of State Settlement Laws was received later and appears on pp. 48 and 49.)

Summary of State Settlement Laws

RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS (WITH RESTRICTIONS) FOR ACQUISITION OF SETTLEMENT IN THE VARIOUS STATES

6 months	1 year period practiced, assumed or accepted	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	Not specified
Alabama. Mississippi. ~~Oklahoma.~~	~~Arkansas.~~ Florida. ~~Illinois.~~ Kentucky. ~~Louisiana.~~ Texas. *New Mexico.*	~~Colorado.~~ District of Columbia. Idaho. ~~Indiana.~~ Iowa. ~~Kansas.~~ ~~Maryland.~~ Michigan. ~~Minnesota.~~ Missouri. Montana. Nebraska. New York. North Carolina. North Dakota. Ohio. Pennsylvania. South Dakota. Utah. Virginia. Washington. West Virginia. Wisconsin. Wyoming. *Georgia.* *Louisiana.* *Oklahoma.* *Tennessee.*	Delaware. *Minnesota.*	Arizona. California. Nevada. Oregon. South Carolina. Vermont. *Colorado.* *Illinois.* *Indiana.*	Connecticut.	Maine. Massachusetts. New Hampshire. New Jersey. Rhode Island. *Kansas.*	~~Georgia.~~ ~~New Mexico.~~ ~~Tennessee.~~ *Arkansas.* *Maryland.*

Showing changes between January 1938 and October 1939. Those States which have changed their settlement laws since January 1938 are struck through; the new status as of October 1939 is shown by italics.

Summary of State Settlement Laws

LOSS OF SETTLEMENT

Less than 1 year's absence	1 year's absence	5 years' absence	Intent	Not specified	Acquisition of new settlement	3 years' absence
~~Kansas.~~	Arizona.	Maine.	Alabama.	Delaware.	~~Colorado.~~	*Vermont.*
Mississippi (6 months).	California.	Massachusetts.	~~Arkansas.~~	Idaho.	*Connecticut.*	
South Dakota (30 days).	District of Columbia.	New Hampshire.	Georgia.	~~Michigan.~~	*Pennsylvania.*	
Utah (4 months).	Florida.	Rhode Island.	Illinois.	Nevada.	Virginia.	
	Indiana.		~~New Mexico.~~	Ohio.	North Carolina.	
	Iowa.		~~Tennessee.~~	Oklahoma.		
	Kentucky.		West Virginia.	South Carolina.		
	~~Louisiana.~~			Texas.		
	~~Maryland.~~			~~Vermont.~~		
	Minnesota.			*Arkansas.*		
	Missouri.			*Louisiana.*		
	Montana.			*Maryland.*		
	Nebraska.			*New Mexico.*		
	New Jersey.			*Tennessee.*		
	New York.					
	North Dakota.					
	Oregon.					
	Washington.					
	Wisconsin.					
	Wyoming.					
	Colorado.					
	Kansas.					
	Michigan.					

An invaluable reference on current settlement legislation is the compilation of settlement laws of all States in the United States by Harry M. Hirsch, published by the America Public Welfare Association, Chicago; 50 cents. The information in these tables is drawn from this source, by permission.

Adapted by National Travelers Aid Association, New York, N. Y.

TRANSIENT PROBLEM SHOULD BE PART OF NATIONAL PROGRAM

Miss McCall. We hope very much that it will be very valuable to you. We believe now that the time has come for us to build on the knowledge that many people have, and many agencies, that these people that move about are just people, and that whatever kind of program you make for them should be comparable and similar to the program for the rest of us, that to set a group like this aside in a separate category is probably not going to solve the problem.

There are so many elements, as you will find as you go about in your hearings, that come in to make a national program and setting up a policy that we feel that one of the first things to consider is that those who move are people and that is exceedingly important. I should like to submit to the committee a document which the National Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless published after its work of 5 years. Somewhere you might like to take some points that this report brings out, for consideration.

(Document "After 5 Years" reads as follows:)

AFTER FIVE YEARS—THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF THE TRANSIENT UNEMPLOYED, 1932–37

(Published by Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, New York City. May 1937)

A Résumé

Five years ago at the National Conference of Social Work, meeting in Philadelphia, there crystallized in the minds of a group of social workers a determination to unite in an exploratory expedition into an uncharted field of social need.

The great economic collapse, swinging crazily down its depression spiral, was then well into its third year. An enormous load of unemployment had created unprecedented relief needs. The unemployed in vast numbers had already taken to the road in quest of employment and, failing to find it after months of endeavor, had become "men without a country," with no legal right to assistance in their time of desperate need.

It was into this "no man's land" of transiency and nonresidence that the social explorers of 1932 proposed to venture. They hoped to clear the way to sound measures for the palliation of the immediate situation and, as a long-range program, to promote plans for the prevention of such widespread dislocation and hardship in the future.

This pamphlet presents in bare outline—for the use of the interested student and social actionist—the history of this exploration, the findings along the way, the experiments undertaken, and the conclusions which seem justified. Parallel with the text will be found selected references to the abundant literature of the problem discussed here.

It is our belief that at this point on the trail, those who are concerned with social justice for all should look back over the road just traveled and, in the light of what they see, should assist in charting a course for the years ahead. The need is as great now as in 1932.

Let Us Look Back

There has always been movement of population in America. Migration must be recognized as a valid phenomenon in the development of the potentialities of any country. In the earlier days, human drive and an adventurous spirit carried men, with or without their families, into the far reaches of our land as explorers, exploiters, laborers, industrialists, empire makers, settlers—men following the crops, establishing homes, building up the wealth of the new Nation.

"When a strong man comes to the realization that he cannot wrest happiness or contentment from his immediate environment, his eyes wander to the horizon. If in the distance he sees the promise of better health, a more satisfactory education, new freedom of thought and speech or a higher standard of living, he is likely to gather up his belongings and set forth."[1]

In recent years, however, many of the opportunities which formerly awaited men on the frontier have disappeared. The wealth of the land—the mines, the forests, and the great water power—is now vested in the hands of property-holding individuals or corporations, and is not "there for the taking" by men whose only resources are initiative, courage, and an adventurous spirit. The tools which the migrant of an earlier day carried in his pack, with which to hew or dig his way successfully to a place of security in a new community, are no longer sufficient. The modern migrant must depend upon the labor market provided by the industrialist, the commercial agriculturalist, and others who own the tools of production, who may or may not choose to employ extra "hands" to operate those tools at a given time and place.

"MOVE ON, YOU"

Traditionally the American people have regarded the stranger who asked for alms as a ne'er-do-well whose own fault it was that he found himself in such sorry straits. Let him help himself! Was there not opportunity and success for every man to take care of himself if he "had it in him?"

The man who takes to the road today in quest of work carries with him, unaware, the ball and chain of the settlement laws of Old England. If work is not found and need develops, he suddenly finds himself in an alien community, unwelcome, with no legal claim for aid, with limited private charitable resources available to him, and with suspicion directed toward him as a dangerous character. The hospitality of the police station, the "two meals and a flop" in a municipal lodging house or second-rate mission, the curt "Move on, you" of the sheriff at the county line, or actual arrest and sentence to the workhouse or the chain gang, have been and still are the penalties too frequently exacted from the victim of unguided migration. Having no responsible agency to direct him to opportunity for personal employment, he drifts or is shoved in this direction and that.

Not all those who move from place to place are mentally or physically competent to undertake to fend for themselves in a new field. But men are not always at fault for having no money saved on which to support themselves after months in the lumber camp, or on railroad construction, or following the crops. Often enough the wages for which they work are grossly inadequate to meet their needs. Compelled as they are to take the only jobs they can get, there are times when they need help from the society which tolerates these conditions.

THE TRANSPORTATION AGREEMENT

Since 1904 a transportation agreement among relief agencies has sought to establish sound social practice in relation to the movement of persons in need from one locality to another. This provides that no transportation be given until the agency has learned that the person involved will have employment at the proposed destination, or that relatives or friends stand ready to support him, or that "legal residence" is a fact and that the person is therefore eligible to receive relief if needed. Free transportation is provided through to destination if the decision is favorable. The railroads make rate concessions on behalf of certified cases.

By 1929, the principles of this agreement had wide acceptance among private social agencies. Public agencies as a rule had refused to sign, although in some enlightened local administrations the principles of the agreement were observed. Generally speaking, however, the decades of effort to secure improvement in the handling of relief for the "unsettled person" by persuading the public relief agencies to use the transportation agreement have been without effect.

THE DEPRESSION ARRIVES

Unemployment on a large scale was recognized by the statisticians as existing in the United States for several years preceding the "peak of prosperity" in 1929. The fact received no general recognition save that family welfare agencies, Travelers' Aid societies, city missions, municipal lodging houses, the Salvation Army, and similar agencies noted increaisng pressure for their services. Railroads reported an increase in trespassing and illegal "riding the rods." "Thumbing a ride" became on the highway the familiar evidence of the movement of a population which could not afford to pay its way.

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[1] Restless Americans—Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 9, 1936, page I.

The resources of private agencies were severely taxed as the depression grew deeper during 1930 and 1931. New funds were not easily found to meet the swelling tide of need. Public relief authorities had not yet faced realistically the gigantic task which lay ahead. The Federal Government had not accepted responsibility for planning or financing in relation to general relief, and neither Federal, State, nor local governments had accepted any responsibility for the "unsettled" person.

Under private auspices, in many cities, there were set up bureaus for registration of and service to the stranger who was in need. A few lodgings of the better type were made available. Boarding houses were opened in some cities and a few experimental camps for older and younger men were established.

Beginning in 1930, special studies were made of the situation by the Family Welfare Association of America,[2] the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies[3] and the Federal Children's Bureau.[4] The study of "the boy on the loose" in the great Southwest, made by the Federal Children's Bureau in 1931–32, most effectively dramatized the situation for the country.

All over the land, along the right-of-way of the railroads, on the margin of towns, great and small, and on the city dumps, "jungles" sprang up where men and boys—and sometimes women and girls—lived a hand-to-mouth, debasing existence, following a manner of life which could not be considered tolerable when compared with the vaunted standards of living of the American people.

The spectacle of a native-born American from the Atlantic seaboard finding himself in California an unwelcome applicant for relief; or of the Negro born and reared in the cotton States finding himself on the banks of the Hudson or the Monongahela, thrown out of a job as a houseman or a steel hand, with no legal right to help; these and other evidences of the dislocation of thousands of people from their home environment and normal ties brought to the point of germination the idea that if indeed the union of States created a Nation, then, by virtue of that national unity, the responsibiliy was vested first in the National Government and then in the States to insure that no citizen of this Nation should be left without assistance in his time of need.

THE COMMITTEE ON CARE OF TRANSIENT AND HOMELESS

At the 1932 National Conference of Social Work, on call of the Family Welfare Association of America and the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, a meeting was held for the purpose of developing a concerted attack upon this peculiarly difficult problem. This was no time to create a new national agency, no matter how worthy its objective. This was the time, however, to undertake to develop creative national thinking directed to the solution of the problems of the unsettled person, which problems previously had never been comprehensively attacked.

Within 4 months of this initial meeting, the National Social Work Council had given status to the group concerned with this problem. It was accepted as a national committee, autonomous as to the special problem under consideration, and was thereafter known as the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless. The funds of the committee were placed in the custody of the council and the secretary of the council became an active member of the committee.

The membership of the committee was composed of individuals drawn from the staff or the membership of other national agencies which touched some phase of the problem of transiency or homelessness. Since they were not selected as representatives of those agencies, they were free as individuals to enter upon this social exploration and the discussions and actions which were to follow. In addition, membership was recruited from the academic world, from the field of social research and interpretation, and from the ranks of the private citizens who had a deep concern for the welfare of their fellows.[5] The funds which implemented the work of the committee came from the McGregor Fund. Mr. Tracy McGregor, who for many years had given generously to the assistance of the homeless man, volunteered this support without solicitation from the committee.

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[2] Care of the Homeless in Unemployment Emergencies, Family Welfare Association of America, 1930.

[3] A Community Plan for Service to Transients. U. S. Department of Commerce, 1931. Prepared by National Association of Travelers Aid Societies.

[4] Memorandum on the Transient Boy. Printed in Twentieth Annual Report of the Chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau, June 30, 1932.

This form of organization, for the purpose of a concerted attack upon a specific problem involving the social, economic, and health fields, marked a new departure in social planning. It is believed that results have justified the undertaking.

The committee, from the first, met regularly and frequently; it assembled data from the field through competent observers; it held hearings at which the experiences of men who had suffered the buffeting on the road, or the cold comfort of the lodging house, or the human companionship of the "jungles," were recounted.

Cooperating with local agencies, the committee attempted a census of homeless and transient in January 1933, and another in March 1933. The one-day census in March covering 765 cities enumerated 201,596 nonresidents. Every State in the Union was adding its quota to the transient army, but the burden of caring for them fell unequally upon such areas as California, Florida, and the great Southwest.

The committee digested the meager factual literature available, studied the settlement laws and their enforcement, read the current news, and followed up the weekly and monthly journals for material on the subject under study. This mass of material was organized for consideration. By a process of discussion, elimination, and synthesis, the committee arrived at a plan which it believed would mitigate the immediate distress and provide a body of experience for long-range preventive planning. The processes of the committee were all group processes.

Standards were formulated for the guidance of those seeking to relieve the unsettled person, whether singly or in large or small groups; whether in institutions, in camps, or through social service centers.

The committee in 1933 presented facts at congressional hearings on relief in support of its contention that the special problem of the transient or unsettled person was a Federal responsibility and that the needs could not be met without financial assistance from the Federal Government. Largely as a result of this, the Relief Act of 1933 (sec. 4C) provided that:

"The Administrator may certify out of the funds made available by this subsection additional grants to States applying therefor to aid needy persons who have no legal settlement in any one State or community."

THE FEDERAL TRANSIENT PROGRAM

In his report to the President as of July 1, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration stated:

"Since the matter of relief to transient unemployed persons, and the question of the value of self-help units, have been found to constitute little known and peculiar problems, a program of thorough investigation has been decided on. The investigations, and the eventual recommendations for the allocation of funds for the relief of the two groups mentioned, will be placed in the hands of specially qualified persons to be appointed to the staff of the Administrator."[6]

At the same time, the Administrator called for the results of the studies made by the committee during many preceding months, and asked to be informed of the philosophy and plans which had been evolved. Two representatives of the committee discussed the material with him at his request. As a result, the Federal Transient Program was formulated. In the Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for July 1933 (pp. 8–9), it is stated:

"A memorandum outlining a national program of relief to the homeless and transient destitute, to be put into effect through the efforts of the various States, was sent to all Governors and the State emergency relief administrations.

"* * * every State in the Union contributes in a greater or lesser degree to the problem of transiency in every other State.

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[5] See p. 52.

[6] Monthly report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, May 22 through June 30, 1933, pp. 5–6.

"* * * a spirit of cooperation should prompt all States to undertake to meet, on a level of decency and constructive social work, the problem now recognized as national in its implications and for which Federal funds are now available.

"* * * these transients are citizens of the United States."

The "transient" was defined for the purposes of the Administration as a person who had been within the State borders less than 12 months. Seamen were classed as transients.

The memorandum pointed out that in each State there would be found three types of homeless persons or families: (1) Local homeless residents; (2) State homeless, who had been more than 12 months in the State; and (3) transient homeless, who had been less than 12 months in the State. All these groups, it was stated, needed to be provided for properly and humanely.

"* * * plans should utilize existing personnel and agencies whenever possible and provide for adequate administration; shelter, food, and clothing, adapted to the individual needs of unattached men, boys, women, and girls, and families; medical and health service; transportation either to place of legal residence or other destination when found desirable and necessary for families and unattached persons; work adapted to the physical handicaps of the clients, if any; preventive programs."

THE "CENTRALIZED" PROGRAM

During the months of August and September 1933 the States slowly began to avail themselves of the opportunity to apply for funds for transient relief. They presented plans for approval, based upon the recommendations outlined in the memorandum to Governors. They appointed State directors of transient activities with the approval of the Federal administrator and with the understanding that the person so appointed was to be a member of the staff of the State director of emergency relief, although the standards of his performance on the job were to be established by the Federal administrator.

But the development of the Federal transient program was only one of the many relief and recovery measures undertaken in the hectic weeks of 1933. One program collided with another in the rapidity of development. Before the blueprint of the transient program could be drawn and put into operation the emergency conservation work program, providing Civilian Conservation Corps camps for young men from relief families from which a part of the transient stream had its origin, was established.

A few months later came the Civil Works Administration, set up in November 1933. Because direct relief through Federal funds was deemed to be unsuited to the manner of life and self-respect of the American people, "real work at real wages" was to take its place, with the workers to be recruited from families on relief. The emergency relief program, Federal, State, and local, though not yet in smooth running order, was therefore called upon to readjust itself to a new philosophy under a new type of administration. This philosophy, work at a real wage rather than the "dole," was sound, but meant a severe wrench in relief planning. No State administrator of the Civil Works Administration had the time or vitality, after early November, to devote to the orderly development of the program for the unsettled homeless person or family.

By force of circumstance, the State directors of transient activities found in late 1933 that if they were to function at all they must deal directly with the Federal transient director. This created the impression that the transient program was purely a Federal function, with the State transient directors responsible only "to Washington." The State emergency relief administrators felt no responsibility for coordinating transient work with their other State-wide relief activities, with the inevitable result that the program came to be looked upon as an alien graft upon a tree from which it might be cut off with little damage.

The men and women throughout the country who staffed the transient centers and camps were of a different mind. Their enthusiasm and devotion were those of trail blazers in an unexplored country. Where they had associated with themselves advisory committees of interested citizens, and where their official activities were coordinated with existing agencies, the new program began to flourish.

By the end of February 1934, 44 States and the District of Columbia had transient bureaus and camps in operation. The number of individuals assisted daily through these agencies increased during that month from approximately 116,000 to 138,000, while the total number of individuals served during the month was 254,724.[7] By May 1934 the transient centers had increased from 249 to 295, and camps from 85 to 190.[8]

The peak of employment under Civil Works was reached in mid-January 1934. As might have been expected, the termination of the Civil Works program in the spring resulted in an immediate increase in the transient load, from 126,873 in February to 174,138 in May 1934. Thereafter a steady rise occurred to the peak of 300,460 in February 1935.[9]

THE "INTEGRATED" PROGRAM

With the demobilization of the Civil Works program and the revival of the original program of emergency relief, both Federal and State administrators were in a position to take stock and adjust the administrative machinery.

The anomalous situation which had developed in the administration of the transient activities, because of the preoccupation of the administrators with Civil Works Administration, was corrected by an Executive order which channeled the authority and funds of the State transient directors through the State administrators, thus ending the direct flow of administrative direction from Washington. This assured an integration of the transient program with all other phases of relief in the given State. Much valuable time had been lost, however, in the interpretation of the program to the State administrators and in the building up of public support for the undertaking.

The road ahead was now clear for an attempt at an orderly development of the program of relief and guidance of the homeless and transient person and for the education of the local community in the support of such a program.

STANDARDS OF CARE

The development of standards of care and service in the transient centers and camps followed closely the recommendations originally made by the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless. By October 1934 in the District of Columbia and all States except Vermont, integrated transient activities were organized. Each State program had its director and staff. At strategic points on the main lines of travel regional registration and treatment centers were located. In October 1934 there were 340 such centers, all in charge of trained case workers with the necessary staff of interviewers. At these points a process of classification was undertaken, designed to return the individual to his home or to result in his placement in a shelter, lodging, camp, or hospital. Families were cared for in lodgings.

Physical examinations were required of all applicants. Medical care was made available in varying degree, depending on available facilities. Infirmaries were frequently operated in connection with the local shelters. Facilities for handling venereal disease and tuberculosis, however, were grossly lacking.

In most camps and shelters educational and recreational programs were carried on successfully. The food served was wholesome, well prepared, and afforded a balanced diet. Shelter provisions were sanitary and far above the predepression standards which had existed in most municipal lodgings and missions.

Valuable work projects were carried out, particularly road building, the development of park areas, and reforestation. Unfortunately, there was no stabilizing incentive in the form of a wage for work done such as was offered by the Civilian Conservation Corps, although a stipend of from $1 to $3 per week was paid, depending upon the work responsibilities of the various classifications of men cared for. The frequently registered complaint that men would not "stay put" was the outgrowth of this situation.

AN EVALUATIVE SURVEY

Any undertaking which deals with the human being in an attempt to improve his situation needs repeated review and evaluation in order that the objectives may not be lost sight of in a rigid attempt to adhere to a preconceived plan.

Having charted a course to be followed in the hope of bringing relief to thousands of homeless and unsettled persons, and having seen that course accepted by Federal and State Governments, the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless felt it to be desirable that at the end of a 12-month period of operation there should be an evaluation of results. Since the undertaking had been set up on a basis of experimentation in an unknown field, it seemed obvious that there might be need of modification in the light of experience.

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[7] Monthly report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, March 1 through March 31, 1934, p. 12.

[8] Monthly report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, May 1 through May 31, 1934, p. 12.

[9] Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, March 1 through March 31, 1935, p. 19.

Such a survey was undertaken by the committee under the direction of Dr. Ellery F. Reed, ably assisted by members of the committee, several staff members of various social agencies, and others. Observations were made and recorded in 20 States. Sixty-two transient treatment centers, 64 shelters, and 25 camps were studied. The study represented cross-sections of the northeastern, north central, the southern, and western areas of the United States.[10]

The evaluation of the findings of this survey was tersely expressed by George Rabinoff in a paper delivered at the national conference of social work at Kansas City in 1934:

"The results of the transient division work have more than repaid the investment. The committee's pathfinding, projected into reality by the F. E. R. A., has brought light into one of the darkest areas of human relationships. For the first time, money and personnel have been applied to relief for transients. Now the problem can be examined on a national scale and provision made to reach some of the roots on which it has thrived.

"* * * Apparently a substantial portion of the transient load can be reabsorbed into normal social and industrial life, as opportunities are opened up and vocational training facilities are applied to individuals. A residual group will require other forms of care, some possibly on a custodial basis, for physical or other forms of social break-down. It is even conceivable that the program will allow for the normal wander-thirst of youth. * * * Seasonal and migratory labor will also be isolated to be provided for under the social order promised by the New Deal without being condemned to a pariah existence."

WHAT WAS LEARNED ABOUT TRANSIENTS?

Reed's An Evaluative Survey, Webb's The Transient Unemployed, and the several other studies inspired by the operation of the Federal transient program brought to light a most significant factor, often excluded in the general public's concept of "transient." These studies prove that the transient population differs very little from the average; that the transients are normal citizens seeking opportunity and, except that they cannot qualify under legal settlement provisions, are much the same as local residents.

"These new transients are frequently not hobos but pioneers, often the most enterprising and energetic people of their former communities. A much larger proportion than formerly have good social background and good educational preparation.

"* * * The transients are now coming from all walks and conditions of life. Homes of college professors, farmers, electricians, musicians, technicians, southern cotton pickers, northern mill workers, and congested urban dwellers were all represented.[11]

"Except for the fact that they were nonresidents, there seems little reason for considering transients as a distinct and separate group in the total relief population. Although they could be distinguished from the resident unemployed, it was principally because they were younger, and included a greater proportion of unattached persons. Actually the transient population represented the more active and restless elements among the great number of unemployed created by the depression. Migration offered an escape from inactivity; and, in addition, there was the possibility that all communities were not equally affected by unemployment." [12]

As to the comparison between the transient and the general population, Webb points out:

"The great majority of transients were native white persons; Negroes represented approximately one-tenth of the monthly registration, and foreign-born whites, approximately one-twentieth. In the transient relief population the proportion of native white persons was higher, the proportion of foreign-born whites, lower, and the proportion of Negroes, about the same, as the general population."[13]

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[10] Reed, Ellery F., Ph. D., An Evaluative Survey of the Federal Transient Program, Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, 1934.

[11] Reed, Ellery F., Ph. D., An Evaluative Survey of the Federal Transit Program, Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, 1934, p. 20.

[12] Webb, John N., The Transient Unemployed, Works Progress Administration, 1935, p. 2.

The studies show that the most frequent cause for the depression migration of needy persons and family groups was unemployment. Other reasons of importance were ill-health, search for adventure, domestic trouble, and inadequate relief.

VOLUME AND COST

No accurate measure of the number of persons who actually constituted the transient army is available. The peak of registration for 1 month was reached in August 1934, a total of 395,384 unattached individuals and 16,232 family groups being reported for that moment.[14] At no time did the midmonthly census exceed that of February 1935, when the record stood at 300,460.[15] The resident homeless are not included in the midmonthly figures. Nels Anderson has said of them: "There is no way I know of counting the aged and derelict homeless of the great cities. It is my conviction they far outnumber the mobile youth in our transient camps."[16]

Of the dollars spent on the transient program, we do have authentic figures from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for the period from the inception of the program through December 1935. Total obligations incurred amounted to $85,779,319, covering materials, supplies, and equipment purchased, relief extended, and administration and miscellaneous costs.[17]

In return for these expenditures, health, and decent standards of living were maintained for thousands upon thousands of men, women, and children during the depths of the depression; "jungles" disappeared along railroad rights-of-way; constructive work, adding to the beauty and the wealth of communities, was performed; trespass on the railroads was reduced; and new and better types of service to human beings adrift were provided.

WHERE THE ROOTS FAILED TO SINK IN

The roots of any transplanted seedling, if the tree is to grow and flourish, must be embedded securely in the mother earth. Sun, rain, and skilled care are needed to assure its sturdy growth.

In the two and one-third years of life of this new growth in the field of social assistance, the tap root of Federal administrative leadership was cut five times. Through this unfortunate circumstance, continuity of development was hindered. No matter how good the quality of new leadership, there was bound to be, even at best, a slowing down of the process of growth.

The effect of this process of retardation was felt in the States. Lack of supervisory field staff in the national office sufficient to stimulate development, failure to promote the appointment of advisory citizens committees, and failure to cultivate harmonious community cooperation, resulted in the program's not taking root in the local communities. Criticism of various phases of the program began to be heard from some areas. It should be noted, however, that in those regions where the State transient director had established his administration along sound lines of community organization, the program was accepted as an integral unit of service and as an essential part of the community program.

Pressure for reduction in relief spending became insistent late in 1934 and in 1935. Accordingly, the Federal authorities determined to withdraw from direct relief and to swing all efforts into a "work" program (Works Progress Administration). The first blow in retrenchment and readjustment fell upon transient care, the most newly developed branch of public relief.

In September 1935, the order was issued to the States to close intake at the transient treatment centers and camps and to liquidate the entire program as of November first. The transient, unsettled person was to become the "forgotten man" of the New Deal, as he had been of the old.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[15] Monthly report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, March 1 through March 31, 1936, p. 34.

[16] Webb, John N., The Transit Unemployed.) Footnote on p. 18, Memorandum From Nels Anderson.)

[17] Monthly report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, December 1 through December 31, 1935, p. 79.

THE PERIOD OF DISINTEGRATION

In the light of the impending "liquidation" of this program, the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless accepted as its responsibility the duty of interpreting the significance of this change of policy, not only in its effect upon human beings but also in its disastrous consequences in the field of public relief administration. Through a network of key contacts throughout the 48 States, the committee became a clearing house for information concerning the progress of the demobilization. Actions taken in States or local communities to salvage a part of the program were reported and balanced against the ruthless, reactionary handling of the problem in other areas. The acute situations in California, Florida, and the great Southwest were publicized and served as an educational force in molding public opinion. Never before had there been such an awareness of the problem, its significance, and the need for remedy—legal and economic—as was developed in the last 3 months of 1935.

The withdrawal of Federal funds for transient relief resulted in the termination of most organized service and of all regular statistical reporting. The stream of transient flow was driven underground. We had returned to the chaos of March 1933. But transiency had not ceased.

The pressure exerted by the friends of the transient all over the country secured for him two important concessions. The Works Progress Administration authorized the acceptance of employable men on the job, wherever they might be, provided the local authorities would enroll them. The Civilian Conservation Corps was authorided to accept young men who met all other qualifications, provided they could designate an eligible allottee back home.

Both these concessions were of value but their use was limited by the tendency of the local community to give preferential treatment to "home town" men and boys.

THE BOOMERANG OF THE SETTLEMENT LAWS

During the 28 months of life of the transient program, State and local authorities had been completely absorbed in administering Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, and various other related activities under "emergency" legislation. No thought had been given to an adjustment of the old poor laws to meet new conditions.

As a result, confusion reigned when the national program was discontinued. Without Federal funds to meet the need of the transient, public relief officials—facing the laws of legal settlement in their individual States—found themselves liable to legal penalties if they provided public relief funds for the "unsettled" person. This emphasized to the local official perhaps more effectively than anything else could have done the fact that this problem was inevitably a responsibility for which Federal and State Governments were primarily responsible, and he was ready to think in terms of "doing something about it."

SEEKING A WAY OUT

By March 1936 many States had become thoroughly alive to the fact that it was not enough to ask for Federal funds with which to meet the needs of transient relief, but that there must be a sharing of responsibility between National and State Governments and that the States must face the fact that their own laws of legal settlement were, by their rigidity and lack of uniformity, creating some of the very problems of which all States complained.

Complete repeal of the settlement laws was suggested, but efforts toward this far distant goal were supplanted by the drive for the adoption of the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act.[18] The American Public Welfare Association and the Council of State Governments have been instrumental in having this proposal introduced in many State legislatures.

Commissions on interstate cooperation, established within recent years, had been found to provide effective machinery for interstate action in relation to other problems of mutual interest. The activities of these commissions, now established in 25 States,[19] had dealt with crime prevention, conservation, tax conflicts, etc.

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[18] Goodhue, Frank W., Report of the Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws and the Transfer of Dependents, Social Service Review, September 1931.

[19] State Government, March 1937.

The commissions of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania saw in the transient a problem of mutual concern. They invited the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless to plan the agenda with them for an interstate conference, called for March 1936 for all States east of the Mississippi. Twenty-two States were represented in the resulting Trenton Conference on Transients and Settlement Laws. Resolutions were adopted which recognized the responsibility of the States for participation, both financial and administrative, in the handling of the transient problem; called upon the Federal Government to resume its moral obligation to this group of handicapped citizens; and called upon the States to modify their laws of legal settlement and their poor laws to bring about greater uniformity within this field.[20]

In April 1936 an interstate conference was initiated by the National Tuberculosis Association, meeting in Santa Fe, for the purpose of considering the problem of the tuberculous transient and the resultant complications which were created for the communities to which he came. This conference resolved that "the Federal Government * * * should assume immediately the function of controlling the spread of tuberculosis by unsettled people" and urged "the principle of Federal participation in meeting the transient problem." It also recommended that Congress should "provide emergency funds for the several States where indigent tuberculous persons and families now find themselves * * * pending the development of a permanent transient program of national scope."

A third interstate conference was called at St. Paul by Governor Benson of Minnesota in March 1937, to which 15 Midwestern States were invited. Again there were written into the record principles closely in line with those formulated by the Trenton Conference.[21]

In all these conferences the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless kept up a drum-fire on the objective of Federal, State, and local responsibility in this field, together with emphasis on the basic remedies of "surer direction and guidance" for men in search of employment. Unification of the laws of legal settlement throughout the United States was urged, as was the vesting of responsibility in the State governments to determine settlement. The Federal and State authorities were asked to provide the necessary funds with which to meet the relief needs of the unsettled person.

Each of these conferences appointed a continuing committee charged with carrying out certain recommendations of the conference and with bringing the resolutions of the conference to the attention of the proper authorities.

The Council of State Governments, meeting in its third general assembly in Washington in January 1937, with representation from 45 States, adopted a series of resolutions favoring "uniform and reciprocal State laws to iron out some of the conflicts in the field of social security."[22] It recommended a standard requirement of 1 year to gain settlement; a provision for retaining the old settlement until a new settlement was acquired; relief and service during any period of inquiry as to settlement; authority vested in the State public welfare department to determine resettlement; funds available to the State for reimbursement of local communities for service rendered to transients; and approval of the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act.[23] These resolutions, bearing as they do the stamp of approval of the official delegates from 45 States, constitute the crystallization in government of a sense of social responsibility for the nonresident.

INDIVIDUAL STATE ACTION

Florida, among all the States, knew first what it wanted to do. In September 1935, shortly after transient intake was ordered stopped, Governor Sholtz appointed a committee of 50, known as the Florida Transient Coordinating Committee. This group helped to keep the problem of transiency before the country and Congress by an energetic campaign for national legislation.

Certain of the States—notably California and Texas—organized State-wide committees under the sponsorship of their respective State conferences of social work. These committees have undertaken to study the transient problems of their own States, and, cooperating with the national committee, have constantly urged State and Federal acceptance of their joint responsibility for the care of the nonsettled.

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[20] See p. 52.
[21] See p. 52.
[22] State Government, March 1937, pp. 51–52.
[23] See p. 52.

The State of Michigan, through its Bureau of Unattached and Homeless Persons, has continued the transient program on a State-wide basis. Recognizing that the needs of nonsettled persons are not essentially different from those of the homeless resident, this bureau includes care for transients in its provisions for the homeless.

The State Legislature of New York is considering the acceptance of financial responsibility for the care of all persons not having residence within the State, with care to be administered by county officials according to the standards of the locality. As this goes to press, it appears that the proposal will be adopted.[24]

Both the administrations of New York and Michigan point out that the Federal Government should assume the responsibility for the care of interstate transients but pending such action these States propose to withdraw from the antisocial system of "passing on."

Furthermore, these States are demonstrating that they are aware of the needs of nonsettled persons and that they are prepared to do something about it. In addition, other States have conducted studies of their transient problems in an effort to work out a solution to their difficulties (California, Connecticut, Minnesota, Pennsylvania). Showing the interest which schools of social work and individual students are taking in the "unmet need," many theses and studies have been and are being prepared on various phases of the problems caused by the needs of nonresidents.

More progress has been made in 5 short years along this neglected byroad of relief than in the 150 years which have preceded! Shall we permit another century to elapse before these principles are written into the laws of all the States?

NEITHER RELIEF NOR SECURITY

Although the Federal administration concedes that transients may be recruited by local authorities for Civilian Conservation Corps service and for Work Projects Administration employment, few are being provided for under these programs. Their needs are not met under the social security legislation, which provides assistance for the aged and for fatherless children and compensation for the unemployed. "Social security" is predicated upon a definite duration of residence within a given jurisdiction. How are the homeless to recover their status of eligibility after these years on the road? Where does the migratory worker get his "security number"?

There is neither relief nor security as things now stand; nor would there be if the 48 States placed upon their statute books at once the legislation proposed by the Council of State Governments. A carefully wrought integration of Federal and State policy and of program, finance, and administration, is essential if security for all is to be attained.

"Security is not always won by staying in the same place. In a dynamic society one of the serious risks is that of being stranded in an area of declining employment, and one of the most important means to individual security is the ability to move in response to changing opportunities. Though the point is often overlooked, the protection and encouragement of mobility should play a genuine part in any full program of social security."[25]

"Legislation may be introduced appropriating grants-in-aid to States in proportion to the burden on them of providing public relief for nonresidents. The addition of such a section to the Security Act would probably mean the abolition of many of the restrictive State settlement laws which have brought so much confusion into the national-relief picture."[26]

CONGRESS STARTS A STUDY

The Congress of the United States is sensitive to the demands of its constituents. The awareness of the public as to the plight of the transient and its recognition that the problem had not been solved during the short life of the Federal program resulted in a concerted effort on the part of the States toward a reconsideration of the whole question in the light of the experience gained during 1934 and 1935.

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[24] State of New York, Senate bill No. 787 (Int. 737), Senator Livingston, February 15, 1937.

[25] Goodrich, Carter, Security and Mobility, Labor Legislation Review, September 1936, p. 108.

[26] Leet, Glen, Social Security and Congress, Survey Graphic, March 1937.

With Florida serving as the spearhead of the attack and with the National Committee mobilizing support, the Senate in June 1936 adopted Resolution No. 298. This resolution, sponsored by Senator James P. Pope of Idaho, directed the Secretary of Labor to:

"Study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs of laborers migrating across State lines, obtaining all the facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the Congress and the States in enacting remedial legislation."

No appropriation was made to facilitate this study, but a union of forces within the several departments of the Federal Government, under the leadership of the Secretary of Labor, in carrying out the mandate of Congress has resulted in a comprehensive evaluation of the situation being undertaken. The national committee has aided by urging that letters describing conditions in various parts of the country be sent to Washington. As this goes to press the report of the study has not been made public. There is reason to believe, however, that it will provide facts upon which remedial legislation—both Federal and State—can be based. A further indication of congressional interest in the survey is gained from the introduction in the present legislative session of Joint Resolution No. 85. This resolution, also sponsored by Senator Pope, calls for an appropriation of $20,000 to continue the survey conducted under Resolution No. 298.

THE TRAIL AHEAD—WHERE DOES IT GO?

As we consider the many facets of the problem of transciency, reflecting the needs of young and old, men, women, and children, the sick and the well, the skilled, the employable and the "unemployable," we are forced to the conclusion that if security for the group is to be assured, every proper resource of the Federal, State, and local governments must be tapped. Federal leadership must stimulate the States to action.

We have been concerned with the "transient" as a categorical unit in this great problem of relief. The time has arrived when service to meet his needs should become an integral part of a national program of relief and security.

The trail of the past 5 years leads on into the future toward a definite goal. That goal is an established policy of Government, Federal and State, which recognizes in law a continuing responsibility for the welfare of nonsettled persons. Their welfare must include their guidance to economic opportunity, their relief in time of need, their protection in health and sickness, their security on equal terms with their fellow citizens. Mobility is a national economic necessity; it must cease to be a barrier to social security.

As this trail is followed, the committee will continue to function as a two-way channel; it will solicit, organize, and present to the proper authorities suggestions by which the goal can be reached; it will report to the field the steps taken and the difficulties faced in the progress along the trail. From its position of leadership it hurls back the challenge of the "unmet need" to all those whose support is necessary if the goal is to be attained. There must be concerted local action—acceptance by both public and private agencies of their just share of the load by broad adjustments in their local welfare programs, to accomplish the elimination of "passing-on," the correction of community attitudes, and the continuing study of the local problem. There must be State-wide action to effect a welfare program with provisions for the nonsettled. There must be organized local and State action to bring about Federal leadership and participation in a cooperative program through which the goal can be reached.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS GOAL?

In our democracy we who have seen and heard of the plight of these migrants, we who have status in our own community, as board members of social agencies, as social workers, as public officials, as businessmen and others—all voting citizens—we have the responsibility for insuring the attainment of this goal.

Respond to the challenge of the "unmet need" by constructive action looking toward an all-inclusive program of social security!

—ELLEN C. POTTER, M. D.

Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless

Lt. Col. John J. Allan, Salvation Army, New York City.
Homer W. Borst, Community Chest of New Haven, Conn.
C. C. Carstens, Cheld Welfare League of America.
Marion Lounsbury Foster, American Red Cross, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Abel J. Gregg, National Council, Y. M. C. A.
George M. Hallwachs, Joint Application Bureau, New York City.
T. Arnold Hill, National Urban League.
David H. Holbrook, National Social Work Council.
Clarence King, New York School of Social Work.
Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt, National Tuberculosis Association.
Rev. E. Felix Kloman, New York City Welfare Council.
Russell H. Kurtz, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.
Morris Lewis, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.
Edith E. Lowry, Council of Women for Home Missions, New York City.
Genevieve Lowry, National Board, Y. W. C. A.
Mrs. C. S. Maddock, Jr., Trenton, N. J.
Bertha McCall, National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service.
A. Wayne McMillen, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.
MacEnnis Moore, National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service.
Dean William H. Nes, chairman, Transient Committee of New Orleans Council of Social Agencies.
Dr. Ellen C. Potter, Department of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey.
George W. Rabinoff, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.
Ella Weinfurther Reed, American Public Welfare Association.
Margaret E. Rich, Family Welfare Association of America.
Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, New York City.
Gertrude Springer, The Survey.
George L. Warren, International Migration Service.
Harold P. Winchester, Albany, N. Y.

Officers: Dr. Ellen C. Potter, chairman; Philip E. Ryan, executive secretary.

Digest of Resolutions Adopted by Three Interstate Conferences [27]

COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

Resolved, That it is the sense of the third general assembly that uniform settlement laws be enacted providing for—

(*a*) A period of 1 year's residence as a requirement for gaining settlement.

(*b*) A provision for the retaining of settlement in one State until a new one is acquired in another State.

(*c*) Relief and service to unsettled persons in accordance with the local standards of relief wherever they may be found in need and until such time as the necessary investigation regarding settlement is completed.

(*d*) Vesting in the State department of public welfare the power to determine the final decision as to the retention of an unsettled person in the State or the return of such person to his place of legal residence.

(*e*) Authorization of State departments of public welfare or the corresponding agency to reimburse the local units for the costs of relief and service given to the person without legal settlement.

(*f*) Authorization of State departments of public welfare or the corresponding agency to provide relief and service for transients—interstate and intrastate—as an integral part of the general relief and service department.

Resolved, That the third general assembly recommend the adoption of the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act and urges the application of the principle of reciprocal agreements between groups of two or more States having adequate laws to encourage uniformity of practice between the cooperating States.

Be it further resolved, That the third general assembly urge the Congress of the United States to develop the necessary legislation and make appropriations to take care of the problems of the transient, the needy stranded migratory laborer, and other unsettled persons through grants-in-aid to the States on the basis of certain basic requirements.

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[27] Referred to in text, p. 59.

TRENTON CONFERENCE

Whereas industrial, legal, and financial conditions created by the prolonged economic depression have dislodged thousands of men, women, and children from their normal occupations and places of legal settlement and have thrown them, in their extremity, into communities where they are alien and have no legal right to relief; and

Whereas the Federal Government in the last 2 years, by its program of relief and work for transients, has demonstrated that it is possible on a national scale to alleviate the condition; and

Whereas the experience of these 2 years has further demonstrated that transiency is an interstate program and that it has its roots in the national phases of unemployment, in seasonal and migratory labor, and other situations that are beyond the control of the individual States; and

Whereas the abandonment by the Federal Government of the relief program for these persons is returning these unfortunate, unsettled people to chaos and hopelessness, since they and the communities in which they find themselves lack the means to solve their problems; and

Whereas most States cannot legally use State funds to relieve unsettled persons and residual Federal funds in the hands of State agencies are now practically exhausted,

Be it resolved, That we call upon the Government of the United States, through an appropriate permanent branch of the public service and as a part of the public assistance program, to accept immediate responsibility for the relief and employment of transients, and we urge that this relief and employment be made effective through permanent departments of State government and coordinate local units of administration and that funds be made available by the Federal Government on a grant-in-aid basis. * * *

We are fully aware of the differences between the States in the manifestations of the Federal relief and transient problems and the impracticability of this conference attempting to formulate a detailed and specific program of State action.

However, there are certain general principles which should be embodied in State legislation and which, if adopted in the several States as part of their general relief program, would substantially reduce the volume of transiency. We conceive these principles to include:

(1) A uniform period of residence, preferably brief, for acquiring a legal settlement.

(2) A reorganization of the relief laws to provide care for persons not having local settlement.

(3) Adequate standards of relief for all persons in need, regardless of settlement status.

Be it further resolved, That this conference approve and encourage all efforts being made and to be made to bring about uniformity of legal settlement laws between the several States.

That for immediate action this conference approve the principle of reciprocal agreements between groups of two or more States which shall encourage uniformity of practice by agreement as between the cooperating States, and further,

That this conference bring to the attention of all State legislatures the need for, and the advisability of, enacting legislation to authorize and empower an appropriate State department to enter into these reciprocal agreements.

MIDWEST CONFERENCE

A. It was agreed that the responsibility for providing care in the first instance should be in the local political subdivisions where the person or family resides at the time of need, and that assistance should be granted according to uniform standards irrespective of legal settlement, such standards to be established under the supervision of the State welfare department, or the proper State agency until a State welfare department is created. Having provided temporary assistance, inquiry will next be directed to determine the place of legal settlement with the attendant financial responsibility for the care of the individual or family. Assuming for purposes of illustration that the family or individual has a legal settlement in some other political subdivision within the State, the following principles should govern action taken:

1. That removal to the place of legal settlement within the State should be on the basis of the best interest of the client.
2. That before returning an individual or family to the place of legal settlement, permission should be obtained and a plan made for the individual or family within the community to which the person or family is to be returned.
3. That the final decision as to whether an individual or family should be returned from a political subdivision in which there is no legal settlement to the political subdivision of legal settlement should be by the State welfare department.

B. Assuming that the individual or family does not have legal settlement within the State, but does have settlement within another State, the questions arise whether to return that person to the place of legal settlement and who shall assume the financial responsibility. It was agreed that the question of whether such individual or family should be returned to their legal residence should be governed by the same principles as mentioned above.

C. * * * Evidence was introduced revealing a wide variation in State laws. The following conclusions were reached:

1. That the States should work toward the development of a period of 1 year's residence as a requirement for gaining settlement within a State.
2. That States should work toward a provision for the retaining of settlement in one State until a new one is acquired in another State.

Regardless of whether settlement laws are uniform or not, reciprocal agreements between States must be developed to facilitate service to unsettled persons. * * * It is understood that reciprocal agreements are only practical between the States having adequate laws containing satisfactory provisions for State supervision and financing.

D. It is obviously impossible to make action effective on interstate problems unless there is a reasonable degree of Federal supervision and an adequate amount of Federal financial support. This conference is convinced that either as a part of a more general Federal relief program or as a special class of relief care by itself there must be created some Federal provisions for the supervising and financing of the program for interstate transients. The conference recognizes that this is not a matter which can be passed off for the supervision and financial control of the Federal Government only, but it is a problem that must be shared in its administration and financing as a partnership between Federal, State, and local governments. The conference is much interested in further study and analysis of this problem as called for in Senate Resolution 298 (74th Cong.) and Senate Joint Resolution 85 (75th Cong.). It is further interested in a broader approach to the question through appointment of a Federal Commission with funds adequate to study the whole problem of public welfare and relief of which transiency is an integral part.

E. The conference realizes that the transient population presents a serious health problem because of the existence of contagious diseases, particularly tuberculosis and venereal diseases, among this group. This problem shows the importance of Federal-State joint action. Because of the health menace and the other social evils consequent upon the lack of care for our moving population, the conference, therefore, stresses the point that the expense of an adequate transient program would be much less than the social costs of continued neglect.

TESTIMONY OF MISS BERTHA McCALL—Resumed

We have also in our office a file of publications called "The Transient" which has some material brought out during the days of the Federal transient program, and also in these recent years, which may be of interest and help to you.

The national agencies wish to say that we feel that we see the individual problem of these specific people, from these individual problems which have come to us, and we have come to believe that the city, State, and Nation all have some part in building a program, that that program needs to be coordinated; and now, one of the things that we are all finding these days in our democracy is, I think, the lack of ways of coordinating the various services that have already been going on. We are interested to know that the Federal Government has many departments interested in this problem and concerned with it. We hope that in a national policy those will be coordinated and worked out so that there will not be duplicated efforts. We hope the same thing will be true with the services of the national agencies.

I think that that is as much of a statement as I would like to make.

CAUSES OF TRANSIENCY

Mr. Curtis. Miss McCall, what one thing more than anything else makes it necessary for families to take to the road in search of a home or jobs or something or other? What puts these people out?

Miss McCall. Well, the whole family, that is, the family as a whole, when it picks up and goes, does so because it does not have enough to live on well where it is and thinks that the next field is much greener than the one where it is, and it keeps on going in that way.

Or it may be that the father of the family decides that he is strong enough and has enough experience, that within a day or two he can get a job, I have an interesting case of an example here of a whole family of seven going from the meat-packing district of Chicago over to Kansas City, because Kansas City is a meat-packing place and the father lost his job in Chicago. They did not want to go on relief, so he packed his family in his little car and drove to Kansas City.

They had enough to live on in Kansas City for 10 days. He figured that he would be able to get a job in 10 days in Kansas City. He could not get a job in 10 days in Kansas City, and so this family comes to the attention of the relief.

Mr. Curtis. Now, in that connection, can you tell us what percent of these people are forced into this wandering through no fault of their own, and what force it has been—human frailties and their errors of judgment, or the overadvertising of opportunities elsewhere and something of that sort?

Miss McCall. I would not be able to analyze that, in any proportion. I would say from my experience in all of these years, in Travelers Aid, that you would find a large percentage of people who move, moving because there is something pushing them, a pressure pushing them out—a magnet drawing them rather than just a human frailty.

Our younger group, of course, is the group that is the adventure group, as you would know.

Mr. Curtis. Yes. However, I would hate to see Federal legislation interfere with the right of every young American to go out and conquer the world.

Miss McCall. So would I.

Mr. Curtis. But do you feel that the problem before us is one of better handling and doing more for the people on the road, or an analysis and correction of the basic conditions that put them on the road?

Miss McCall. Well, it is a combination. We need to know the whole background, why they are on the road, and try to correct some of those things, and there are people who go away from home who would much rather stay in the place where they have been than go out, if there were an opportunity there for them.

There are others for whom it would be very much better to go.

Mr. Curtis. From your experience do you find the conclusion true that greater care and concern given to these people while they are on the road increases the number on the road?

Miss McCall. Well, that is one of the great criticisms that was made of the Federal transient program. I happen to be one of the people that does not believe that that is the real reason why they go. There were other good conditions why they go. I mean you would move from your community if you were not able to do well in that community and you found another community in which you could do very much better.

Mr. Curtis. In other words, the person dependent upon relief is subject to the same inducements as the individual who moves depending upon the opportunity of his own resources?

Miss McCall. Surely. That brings me to say this: That one of the reasons that this needs a national policy is if the State of New York sets up a reasonably good and honest program, the first thing you know somebody will be saying in New York that we are getting all of the people from the South so we are going to stop that program, and therefore it means that it must be a Federal and national program, because you cannot pick up the lag in the States. One State will get ahead of the other, you see, and it makes it a very difficult thing because people will move where good opportunities are.

Mr. Osmers. Have you found in your experience over the years with the Travelers Aid work, that a good many people take to the road because of misinformation, because they were misinformed as to the opportunities?

Mayor LaGuardia this morning pointed out a certain very small instance of those who thought that they might have good opportunities on the radio, and I wondered if in your experience you found that as you say, people in the State of West Virginia heard that there were goods jobs at $50 a week up in New York that they could get right away—do you find many of those?

Miss McCall. Well, as far as we are concerned, as a private agency, they loom rather large, because our funds are small and they become a very great problem to us. How large they are in the general population, I would not be able to say, but from observation, from the cases that we have, we feel that general advertising has been one of the causes why a great many people have gone to Florida, and why a great many people have gone to California. For instance, in the winter of 1931, when we were having very great difficulty here in the matter of this problem of young people, one of the very coldest days I was walking out here and saw an American Express truck or an American Railway truck with a big sign on it, “Come to Florida, the Land of Sunshine.”

Well, I felt like going to Florida myself, and I could not help but think that if I were cold and shivering, I would try to go to Florida if it were the land of sunshine, when it was that day several degrees below zero. So there are all of those factors that you really have to take into consideration.

Mr. Osmers. You would not say that the people from Florida or California are a little optimistic about their climates, would you?

Miss McCall. That was one of the things that we anticipated about the World's Fair. We thought the advertising from the World's Fair would bring an unusual group of people here. For some reason or other, it did not.

The Chicago World's Fair did really bring a great number of problems.

The Chairman. Miss McCall, do you not think that the average American would like to stay where his home is, if he can make it go?

Miss McCall. Yes; I think that that is true.

The Chairman. But there are circumstances over which he has no control, arising in this country, by which he is forced to move.

Now, indicating that he would like to stay home, I understand the Federal Farm Security Administration has taken care of 800,000 families in the South. That is, they have provided people with a horse and cow and seed and that 85 percent of that money is being paid back, but we have 500,000 families still uncared for, is that right?

Miss McCall. Yes.

The Chairman. In the early days of this country people migrated and as they got to the States of destination they found jobs.

Now, do you not think the tendency in America today is to want them to come in if they have got some money and they do not want them to come in if they have not any money? That is our problem, is it not?

Miss McCall. Yes.

The Chairman. Well, I think that you have contributed a very valuable statement here. I have met you before, Miss McCall, and we are very grateful, and if there is anything you may later want to insert in the record we will give you that opportunity.

Thank you very much.

We will adjourn until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, MONDAY, JULY 29, 1940

(The hearing was reconvened at 2 p. m.)

TESTIMONY OF MEMBERS OF NEW JERSEY CONFERENCE OF STATE DEPARTMENTS ON MIGRATORY LABOR

The Chairman. The committee will come to order, and we would like to have the New Jersey representatives come forward, please.

Mr. Krueger, will you give your full name, and occupation, and your connection with this interdepartmental committee?

Mr. Krueger. C. George Krueger, deputy commissioner of labor, chairman of the New Jersey Conference of State Departments on Migratory Labor.

The Chairman. Now, will you indicate who you have here with you and give their names so that the reporter will know who they are? (The information was given as below:)

C. George Krueger, deputy commissioner, New Jersey Department of Labor, and chairman of the New Jersey Conference of State Departments on Migratory Labor;

William H. MacDonald, chief of the bureau of local health administration of the New Jersey State Department of Health; Maj. Charles F. Schoeffel, deputy superintendent of the New Jersey State Police; Russell J. Eldridge, director of the New Jersey State Employment Service; H. J. Lepper, administrative assistant of the New Jersey State Employment Service.

The Chairman. Now, Mr. Krueger, how did you desire to proceed—to present your statement?

Mr. Krueger. We propose, and if you wish to change it, we certainly will be very satisfied to do it in any way, but we propose to read a statement, and then have the various specialists representing our departments answer the specific questions.

The Chairman. I think, if there is no objection, that will be all right, and then after you finish you will call on them.

TESTIMONY OF C. GEORGE KRUEGER, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Mr. Krueger. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. We will proceed.

Mr. Krueger (reading). Mr. Chairman and members of the congressional committee, the Governor of the State of New Jersey, through the Conference of New Jersey Departments on Migratory Labor, desires to offer complete cooperation to the congressional committee whose duty it is by virtue of a resolution of the House of Representatives to study, survey, and investigate the needs and the movements of persons across State lines. The very existence of the New Jersey conference is a tacit admission that there is a problem concerning the employment of migratory labor in the State. Existing facts also indicate that it is qualitative rather than quantitative at the moment, but therein lies a dormant seed awaiting the future growth. The application of effective control measures is of vital importance, which statement reflects the primary function of the New Jersey conference, namely, to determine what measures constitute effective control of migratory labor, to prevent unwholesome developments that are distinctly detrimental to the public interest and welfare.

Your very sympathetic and well-informed chairman, Congressman Tolan, advised the gathering at Bridgeton, on Saturday, that he was well aware of the existence of a migratory labor problem in New Jersey, which statement was made in response to several other statements that undoubtedly seem to come from thoughts of lesser magnitude of the problem in New Jersey in contrast to other areas.

Supporting statements by Commissioner Toohey, of the department of labor, and Major Lepper, of the employment division, immediately following Chairman Tolan's declaration, should leave no doubt in the mind of the members of the committee that New Jersey is preparing to cope with the situation before it assumes proportions that will be exceedingly difficult to control.

NECESSITY FOR MIGRATORY LABOR

Several paths may be pursued in the attempt to find a suitable answer. In the first place, there arises a question of the necessity for such migratory labor. On the other hand, if it is assumed that migratory labor is essential to the economic and social welfare of the State, then it follows that the State should make certain fair contributions.

Either path deviates through a maze of interrelated conditions involving type of work, working conditions, recruiting practices, education, health, living conditions, relief practices, and police problems. These are all functons of various State agencies.

The complexity of this seemingly unimportant situation was immediately found to be exceedingly diverse, in consequence of which the Conference of New Jersey Departments on Migratory Labor was formed early this year. Representation in the affairs of the conference, and brief statements of specific interest in each case follow:

AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN NEW JERSEY

Department of agriculture: Studies that have been made in our State since 1910 have always emphasized the employment of migrants in agriculture. The department of agriculture's computations as of today estimate that about 12 percent of the total harvest man-hours is provided by employment of migratory labor in fruits and vegetables. Also the manpower for almost all other crop harvesting seems to be provided from sources other than migratory labor.

The total acreage in all crops is 850,000, of which total 310,000 acres are harvested by migrants, who number approximately 9,000 persons, including 4,000 Negroes. The balance of 5,000 are chiefly Italians.

About 325 potato growers employ these Negroes and 300 growers the Italian migrants.

Our survey shows that the Negroes begin their trek north from points of origin in Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia. Crops are followed in a well-defined pattern beginning in Florida and ending in New Jersey and neighboring States. This flow alternates annually from Florida to New Jersey to Florida and intervening points in both directions.

The yearly cycle is startlingly constant from the point of view of routes followed and can be traced without any difficulty. Italian migrants are chiefly from Philadelphia and are generally employed in the harvesting of fruits and vegetables.

The characteristics of this type of migrant differ from the Negro chiefly because the entire families are hired to work for a grower. Different types of problems are the result. It has been suggested that the use of migrant labor is essential even though but 12 percent of the total man-hours is provided by such workers. Familiarity with harvesting procedure, willingness to work under varied conditions, availability, are several of the reasons given for the justification of the requirement.

In contrast, it is felt that the committee noted conditions at the Seabrook farm near Bridgeton in their tour of New Jersey. This large agricultural enterprise employs over 2,000 persons, most of whom are local residents. Working and living conditions are acceptable standard, and wage scales are maintained in very close conformity to governmental requirements covering other types of work.

LABOR CONTRACTORS

The second department representation is from the—

Department of labor: Aside from the general concern for the worker in any industry, the specific interest of the department of labor in the employment of migratory labor up to the present time has been in connection with methods for contracting for the supply of this labor. Statutes place the regulation of private instead of public employment agencies under the jurisdiction of the labor department. Certain legal restrictions involving activities outside of the State prevent proper and necessary regulation of the migrant labor contract. About one-third of the 325 potato growers secure their labor through a contract. The many injustices, potential and existing, that are and can be suffered by the workers at the hands of unscrupulous contractors dictates the removal of this system in favor of placement by existing State employment agencies, whose facilities could be readily extended to perform this desirable service.

CHILD LABOR RESTRICTIONS

In New Jersey the child-labor laws now in effect exempt children of all ages when they are engaged in agricultural pursuits. However, many of the practices considered to be detrimental and unwholesome as far as employment of children on the farm is concerned will be automatically eliminated on September 1, 1940, when the recently revised New Jersey child-labor law goes into effect. The new law provides for a minimum age of 12 years for children employed in agriculture, with a maximum of 10 hours in any one day. However, when schools in the farm district are in session no children may be employed under 16 years of age, and then only when possessing the proper certificate. The only exemption refers to children working on farms owned by their parents or guardians.

Significantly enough, the farmers of the State endorse the proposals regarding agriculture. This law is a definite step ahead and was prepared and established by the National Child Labor Committee. As before, regulation and enforcement is placed in the department of labor.

In contrast to other States, the canning industry comes under the factory laws which provide for the regulation of working conditions, and many of the vexing welfare problems of agriculture processing are thereby eliminated.

WORK OF STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Employment service: Until a decision is reached regarding the need for migrants in the harvesting of crops, the employment service has endeavored to determine for potato growers the quantity of workers used, the rate of wages paid, and total earnings. The data are also useful in determining the possibility of replacement with local labor and keeping the volume of migration to a necessary minimum, which would reflect itself as a reduction in the relief load.

The conference representatives of the New Jersey State Employment Service report that insofar as recruiting practices are concerned for migratory workers, steps are being taken to provide New Jersey farmers with sufficient labor in cooperation with the employment divisions in other States. Since it is evident that this is labor of a seasonal nature, the employment division is studying proposals to supply where possible local labor and supplement the same with migrants from other States. The local labor supply is questionable at the moment, but the employment division has hopes that a positive supply may be secured following additional study.

Migrant labor has been supplied in several instances to local farmers who have requested such workers be supplied by the employment division. This required the cooperation of, in one instance, the State of Virginia, and was found to be very successful in operation, the farmers having received a suitable supply of labor.

The supply of migrant labor on a larger scale is contemplated inasmuch as the same operation is deemed to be successful.

PROBLEM OF EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Department of education: The statements heard by the committee yesterday, or rather Saturday, concerning the ability of children employed in the cranberry bogs to maintain a high standing in the classroom, despite absence from school because of the gathering of berries in the bogs, is the exception to the rule. The department of labor found it to exist in other agricultural pursuits in which children are engaged. Statistics of scholarship records of children in regular school attendance show unquestionable superiority over those children who are withdrawn from exposure to classroom technique because of the necessity to work in the fields. The new child-labor law previously mentioned will correct the condition. It will remain to be seen what the scholastic records of children will be when compulsory attendance at school is required. The provisions of the new law may create additional educational problems, especially in the presence of the migrants if that is tolerated, and especially those who bring their children with them. Since the law requires attendance at school of children under 16, the effects on the district school system are destined to become critical because of the additional number of children to provide for, and since the migrant is shifting from place to place and therefore because of change in individual children producing greater or lesser numbers as the case may be, the facilities of many rural schools will not be capable of supporting either the increased load or sustaining the shock due to constantly changing characteristics of the individual children.

The responsibility for the expense to provide increased facilities, personnel, and transportation is not clearly understood. Therein lies one of the most profound principles which attaches to migrant labor, especially since the education of children is so highly regarded as essential to the preservation of this democracy. Aid in some form must be granted if the migrant is regarded as a necessity, but the characteristics of the form have not been found.

HEALTH REGULATIONS

Department of health: Again, if the migrant is to be tolerated, to what extent should the department of health be required to make examinations and keep records, and to provide treatment? While cases of communicable disease, such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, and so on, have not occurred in large numbers among migrants, such cases do occur. Since there are no facilities for treating such cases in the rural areas, some means should be provided for isolation in proper quarters and at the same time recognizing the possible limitations in compensation, which the migrant can pay for treatment.

During 1939, special activities were instituted to discover and treat cases of venereal diseases among the migrants. Over 3,000 migrants were blood-tested and of this number over 2,500 were Negroes. Almost 800 persons were diagnosed as syphilitic and were given over 4,000 injections.

During the next few months the State department of health is proposing to carry on special survey work, particularly along the following lines:

First, to obtain blood to be examined for evidence of syphilis from workers attracted to the potato-growing section of Monmouth, Middlesex, and Mercer Counties. Those found to be infected with syphilis will have an opportunity to receive treatment from clinics established for that purpose if they are unable to pay for treatments privately.

Secondly, in this same area, to secure information by personal inspection as to living quarters used by these transient workers and also information about basic sanitation at such quarters, including water supply and method of collection of human wastes.

Thirdly, in the vegetable- and berry-growing sections it is planned to make a cross-sectional survey to determine in general the housing facilities used by transient laborers coming to this area, and also to obtain information about basic sanitary conditions, including water supply and sewage disposal at such premises.

The State housing authority's past records have indicated that housing conditions range from highly satisfactory living quarters that are provided by the grower, to the lowest type of jungle camp prepared by the migrant when temporarily unattached. State housing authority representatives are now cooperating with the Federal agency to prepare standards for labor camps.

VOLUNTARY FINGER-PRINTING OF MIGRANTS AS AID TO POLICE

The department of State police: Records of the State police reveal a correlation in increase of necessary police activity and presence of migrants which indicates the existence of a police problem. As a result of conferences with potato growers, voluntary fingerprinting of migrants has been begun and last week the first fingerprinting was undertaken. This procedure will serve to identify certain types of persons and furnish a record for future use.

STATE RELIEF PROBLEM INCREASED BY MIGRATION

The municipal aid administration, which is the State relief agency, to conserve employment opportunities for residents of the State insofar as is possible, briefly describes the migrant problem from the relief angle.

It is the consensus of opinion among relief officials that migratory labor has reduced employment opportunities for local citizens to an alarming degree, having a positive effect on relief rolls, particularly in outlying areas. During harvest seasons a huge influx of out-of-State labor comes in, willing to work for substandard wages, and when the season is over, numbers of these persons remain, often succeeding, eventually, in getting on relief rolls.

Also in urban resort cities there is a marked influx in season of teachers, collegians, and the like willing to work for pin money who perhaps unwittingly demoralize seasonal work opportunities for local residents, thus also having a marked effect on relief.

Federal legislation leading to amelioration of these conditions is desirable as an aid to the lessening of the State's relief problem. It is suggested that suitable provisions be made, making it possible for persons on relief rolls who have been recruited for employment in seasonal farm work to return to relief for aid after certain safeguards have been established.

Other cooperating agencies in the conference: The State planning board, the Works Progress Administration, and the Attorney General's Department.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONTROL OF MIGRANT PROBLEM

The New Jersey conference feels confident that effective measures of control will be devised as a result of its deliberations. It is also felt that complete cooperation from all Federal agencies interested in the migrant problem and who may enter in the pursuit of their problem various sections of the State, is both desirable and necessary. Promises of cooperation have already been received in several instances.

Certain conclusions can be drawn as a result of the activities of the New Jersey conference, which are submitted for the consideration of the committee:

(1) Organization of similar conferences in States along the Atlantic seaboard, affected by the travel pattern of migrants, with provisions for regional and general meetings.

(2) Working agreements between Federal agencies and State conferences to eliminate duplication of effort and to strive for singleness of purpose.

(3) Federal aid involving cooperation of Federal agencies in the work of the State conferences, regarding personnel, equipment, research and records, and other forms of aid relating to certification of minors, educational facilities, standards for housing and health, and the physical interpretation of those standards.

(4) Preventative measures to check increase in the number of migrants who may be attracted to agricultural areas because of relatively improved and more agreeable and convenient conditions.

(5) Utilization of local labor in preference to migrant labor.

(6) Assure bona fide relief recipients their return to the relief rolls when seasonal work in harvesting farm products has been completed.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Krueger. At this point I would like to make the statement that in case there might be a misunderstanding, to the effect that we just are investigating New Jersey alone. Let me say that New Jersey is the first State that we visited and I would like to have the record show that we propose in the next 3 days to take testimony from official representatives of the States of New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, and that we have invited the New England Conference of Governors to send a representative.

At the Washington hearing at the end of November the committee hopes to take testimony from official witnesses from the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and possibly West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Other hearings already scheduled through December will investigate the situation of urban and rural migrants in most of the remaining States of the country. In other words, although we cannot visit every State in the Union, we hope and know that the report will show the condition in every State in the Union regarding the migratory problem, and to indicate to the people of this country that it is a national problem.

I am just making those remarks at this time to indicate that we are not just taking New Jersey alone, and as Mayor LaGuardia said this morning, the conference of mayors will take care of the metropolitan cities of the United States as well.

(The following statement was submitted by the witness:)

STATEMENT FURNISHED BY THE NEW JERSEY CONFERENCE OF STATE DEPARTMENTS ON MIGRATORY LABOR

The existence of peculiar problems attached to employment of migratory laborers in the State of New Jersey has been recognized by State officials for long periods of time. Recently, and in order to coordinate activities leading to a proper solution of the resulting problems, there was formed in the State of New Jersey an unofficial conference consisting of representatives from the department of agriculture, department of labor, department of education, department of health, employment service of the unemployment compensation commission, State police, State planning board, State housing authority, attorneys general, Works Progress Administration, and municipal administration. In general, all of these State agencies have a direct interest in the migratory labor problems and since its inauguration in the conference several months ago successful progress has been made to outline proper courses to be pursued leading ultimately to suitable recommendations for legislative actions and department regulations. This conference meets monthly and receives reports from several committees who perform the detailed work of the conference. These committees are as follows: The policy committee, whose duty it is to formulate a comprehensive plan to cover the work involved; a survey committee that is responsible for accumulating existing facts and propose additional fact-finding surveys and be responsible for their execution; a private agency coordinating committee whose function it is to aline all private and social groups interested in the migratory labor situation in order to marshal their forces to achieve, about all, singleness of purpose in the efforts of the various groups to work out short- and long-ranged programs; Federal agency coordinating committee, the responsibility of cooperating with the various Federal departments and agencies, as well as those from other States who may be concerned with the problems in New Jersey; health and housing committee functions for the purpose of studying the facts submitted by the survey committee and sets up standards to control living conditions among the migrant and the health of the workers. By thus coordinating the thought, work, and efforts of these various State departments, it has been possible to accumulate evidence from various sources which it believes gives a truer picture of the problems that heretofore existed.

GENERAL INFORMATION

The State department of agriculture estimates that there is a total acreage in all crops in this State of about 850,000 acres. Of this acreage, approximately 310,000 acres require the employment of migratory labor in part or entirely for harvest work. It is further estimated that the percentage of total harvest man-hours supplied by migratory workers amounts to about 12 percent. Although the migrants harvest but a small percentage of the total acreage it is stated that the services of such workers are highly important to the commercial growers who depend upon this type of labor.

GENERAL MIGRATORY LABOR PROBLEMS

From various sources obtained during the past several decades it has been determined that the migratory agricultural labor will fall into either one of two main classes, namely colored workers and Italian families. Surveys as far back as 1910 indicate that this general pattern existed and subsequent surveys show that it has continued to exist, with a tendency to increase as far as numbers in both groups are concerned. The tendency to increase is the cause for anxiety and indicates the need for corrective measures before the problem reaches uncontrollable proportions.

Surveys made by a legislative committee in 1930 and 1931 indicated the extent to which migrants under 16 years of age are included among the workers in Italian families, and also gave a measure of health and living standards which was duly reported in the New Jersey Legislature.

In 1937 a report was issued by the National Child Labor Committee which showed the results of surveys conducted by their representatives based on the formula for the survey designed by the National Child Labor Committee.

The recently formed New Jersey conference undertook to make a survey in the potato-growing areas under the supervision of Russel Eldridge, director, New Jersey State Employment Service Division, William H. Allen, secretary of agriculture, and H. G. Weiss, chief of bureau of plant industries, in April of 1940, which led to obtaining data of considerable value to members of the conference.

The study was conducted by a group of field agents consisting of two employees of the State department of agriculture and 6 employees of the State employment service, and consumed approximately 2 weeks and consisted of visits to individual farmers. The report indicates that approximately 4,000 laborers, chiefly of migratory character, are involved in this type of work which was the so-called commercial growers of potatoes.

The summary indicates that the crop studied and the acreage involved is approximately 44 percent of the total potato acreage (55,000 acres) of the State, but it is understood that the labor situation in the remaining acreage is of quite a different character. It is understood that it involves less of a concentration of a single crop (potatoes) in each farm and that the migrant phase is considerably less.

Relative to the amount of Negro labor, it will be noted that a total of 4,119 was utilized in 1939. This is broken down into males, females, and children under 16 years. It is not believed that the number of families has any significance, because the farmers were not at all sure of the relationships of these people. The total 4,119 includes some unavoidable duplication, but it is assumed that the total number of workers involved to be in the neighborhood of 4,000.

Three methods of obtaining this labor are outlined in the report. The first one, "through contractor," includes two methods—the farmer may contract for the laborers themselves, or he may contract for the harvesting of the crop itself and not be particularly concerned about the number of laborers, etc., so long as the work gets done. Under No. 2, where the farmer makes his own arrangement, this includes cases where the farmer writes down South or where he has a standing arrangement with certain groups which come back year after year to his farm. Under No. 3, the laborers apply for work. These may be floating ones, or they may make their arrangements in advance. Nos. 2 and 3 could really have been combined.

Most of the laborers appear to come from Florida and Virginia, mostly from Florida, with a sprinkling of laborers from North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina. Apparently very few come from Philadelphia or the larger cities in New Jersey.

Apparently it was difficult to get definite information on individual production. The number of reports on some of these items was not high and there is considerable variation in the figures. About the only definite thing they show is that the hourly earnings range from 20 to 35 cents.

The returns on the average amount picked per day, on crops other than potatoes, are also rather slim, and these figures should not be regarded as conclusive.

According to the report, almost 4,000 laborers will be needed in 1940.

RECRUITING PRACTICES

The conference representatives of the New Jersey State Employment Service report that insofar as recruiting practices for migrant workers are concerned, steps are being taken to provide New Jersey farmers with such labor in cooperation with the employment divisions in other States. Since it is evident that this labor is of a seasonable nature, the employment division is studying proposals to supply, where possible, local labor and supplement same with migrants from other States. The local labor supply is questionable at the moment but the employment division has hopes that a positive supply may be secured following additional study.

Migrant labor has been supplied in several instances to local farmers who have requested such workers be supplied by the employment division. This required the cooperation in one particular instance with the State of Virginia and was found to be very successful in operation, the farmer having received a suitable supply of laborers. The supply of migrant laborers on a larger scale is contemplated inasmuch as the same operation was deemed to be successful.

New Jersey with its varied agricultural and industrial interests and its strategic location between two large metropolitan centers in other States has attracted to it persons from other States seeking employment.

There are at least three areas of the State to which such persons come seeking work and to which attention has been especially directed from time to time.

(1) The potato-raising area, made up chiefly of parts of Monmouth, Mercer, and Middlesex Counties.

(2) The oyster-growing and harvesting section, chiefly in Cumberland County.

(3) The vegetable- and berry-growing and canning sections of Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Salem, and Cumberland Counties.

The persons attracted to the potato-growing section are chiefly adult colored males. This group includes some females and a few children. They come from States south of New Jersey on the eastern seaboard. Their work in the potato harvest extends from sometime in July about to October. The number is in the neighborhood of 4,000. Employment, if available, is not continuous during this period due to fluctuations in the potato market and the weather.

Persons attracted to New Jersey for work in the oyster industry include colored persons from States just south of New Jersey, both adult males and females, as well as some children, although adult males predominate. The total is considerably less than the number attracted to the potato-growing section. The usual period of peak employment is from about September 1 to December 1.

In the third area mentioned many of the transient workers seeking employment in vegetable and fruit harvest come from Pennsylvania, and particularly from the city of Philadelphia. This group includes more females and children than the group attracted to the potato area. While we do not have accurate comparative figures, this department feels the number of children in this group is relatively less than 10 years ago. A large proportion of this group is white, many being of Italian birth or stock and include entire families in many instances.

HEALTH STANDARDS [1]

Communicable diseases, general.—While cases of the communicable diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, etc., to the best of our knowledge, have not occurred in large numbers in any of these groups, some of such cases do occur and present difficult problems from the standpoint of isolation in proper quarters. There is no State communicable-disease hospital in New Jersey nor is there any county hospital of this type in any of the eight counties mentioned. The city of Trenton in Mercer County and the city of Camden in Camden County, each maintain a contagious-disease hospital for its own people. While these institutions may be willing in emergencies to accept cases from outside their respective limits, compensation is, of course, expected. This is not always forthcoming either from the affected patient nor from the municipality in which the person may be stopping temporarily.

Typhoid fever.—In past years cases of typhoid fever have occurred in transient workers in the vegetable and fruit area. One chronic typhoid carrier was discovered by special investigation, and she was placed under supervision by the board of health of her home community after leaving New Jersey.

Venereal diseases.—For a few seasons prior to the summer of 1939 the venereal-disease clinic at the city of New Brunswick, Middlesex County, was severely taxed by additional patients from among the migrants to the potato-picking area.

During the potato season of 1939 special activities were instituted by the State health department to discover and have treated cases of syphilis among this group of transient workers.

Three thousand and twenty-one persons were blood tested. Of this number, 2,558 were nonresident Negroes. Their home State usually was located along the South Atlantic seaboard, but workers were found from 18 different States, including the States of Nevada and Washington. Florida, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were most frequently represented, in the order named.

The table below indicates the number of persons, by age group, color, and the sex of the Negroes tested:

Age group	Total persons tested	Total whites tested	Total Negroes tested	Colored females tested	Colored males tested
0–9.9	16	0	16	6	10
10–14.9	129	0	129	53	76
15–19.9	427	13	414	109	305
20–24.9	731	15	716	189	527
25–29.9	601	12	589	162	427
30–34.9	427	10	417	123	294
35–39.9	311	7	304	88	216
40–49.9	267	10	257	64	193
50 and over	112	6	106	18	88
Total	3,021	73	[1] 2,948	812	2,136

[1] 390 of these were resident Negroes of New Jersey.

The marital status of this group was studied and often several questions were required to ascertain the fact. Only 36.8 percent were married and 48.9 percent were single. The rest were separated, widowed or divorced. It must be emphasized that over 63 percent considered themselves unmarried and actually many who were here listed as married were on a 6- to 9-month migration while their marital partner either remained at their southern home or joined another migratory group.

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[1] See added statement from New Jersey Department of Health, p. 111.

As a group, the health of the 2,948 Negroes tested was poor in so far as syphilis was concerned. In terms of serological laboratory reports, 1,028 or 34.9 percent were positive. Of the 2,136 males tested, 32 percent were positive and of the 812 females tested 42 percent were positive. When these data are studied by marital status, we find 22 percent of the single persons having positive blood tests and 40.8 percent for the married, 37 percent for the widowed and 43 percent for those persons who were separated.

The persons who were found to have a positive or doubtful blood test were examined at three strategically located clinic centers. Many persons migrated within and outside of the potato area between the time of taking the blood sample and the day when the laboratory reports were available. Thus some of the positive serological cases were lost temporarily or permanently.

However, a total of 786 persons were diagnosed as syphilitic and they were given over 4,300 injections before they left for their homes with patient referral forms indicating the exact nature of their disease and the treatments given to date. It was found that over one-third of the syphilitics diagnosed had infectious stages of the disease. In other words, over 33 percent had acquired their syphilis during the 4 years immediately preceding the time of diagnosis.

Special surveys.—During the next few months, the State health department is proposing to carry on some special survey work, particularly along the following lines:

(1) To obtain blood to be examined for evidence of syphilis from workers attracted to the potato growing section of Monmouth, Middlesex, and Mercer counties. Those found to be affected with syphilis will have an opportunity to receive treatment from clinics established for that purpose if they are unable to pay for treatments privately.

(2) In this same area, to secure information by personal inspection as to the living quarters used by these transient workers and, also information about basic sanitation at such quarters, including water supply and method of collection of human wastes.

(3) In the vegetable and berry growing section, it is planned to make a cross-section survey to determine in general the housing facilities used by transient laborers coming to this area and, also to obtain information about basic sanitary conditions including water supply and sewage collection and disposal at such premises.

(4) A similar cross-section survey in that part of this general area, limited to Burlington County, was anticipated although we now understand a survey including the information outlined above, is to be made within the next few months by an agency of the Federal Government.

Other groups.—There are, of course, in addition to the three main groups mentioned above several smaller groups of persons attracted to New Jersey temporarily, some of whom may continue to stay in the State. Among such groups may be mentioned a few clammers who are attracted to the shore of Barnegat Bay during the clamming season and who live in houseboats or summer shacks along the bayshore.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Housing.—In New Jersey, it is by statute the duty of each local board of health to enforce local regulations and the regulations of the State sanitary code in regard to private wells and sources of water supply and in regard to the construction, location and maintenance of privies, cesspools, etc. Most of the municipalities to which the laborers mentioned above are attracted are rural townships. Most of these township boards of health have only limited personnel and do not routinely make inspections of sanitary problems.

In the potato-growing section, as described, there are a few houses available in which the transient workers can be accommodated. Generally during the summer and early fall months, when they are employed in New Jersey, these people find living quarters in buildings not ordinarily used as habitations.

In the oyster-growing area persons from out of the State are chiefly housed in frame buildings maintained in the section and intended primarily for use by the persons so employed. In these buildings a water supply under pressure is available; toilet facilities of the chemical type are also available.

In the vegetable and berry-picking section most of the persons attracted find living quarters in houses in the general vicinity. On some of the premises at which such labor is employed temporary living quarters are available in buildings maintained for the purpose. These buildings are not intended for year-round residency.

STATE POLICE

During the early part of 1935 some of the State police stations began to experience an increase in all types of crimes in and about the counties of Monmouth, Middlesex, and Mercer, in the section known as the potato area, due to the influx of migratory labor coming into the State for the purpose of harvesting the potato crop.

An investigation was conducted to determine the number of these workers, point of origin, and other related data, and a careful check was made of the several camps established by some of these migratory laborers who were living in and about the area in makeshift camps of one type or another, and who were not under restraint of any type, and were, we believe, responsible for the greater part of the increase in crime as related above. These groups differed from those living on the several farms where they were employed, as they were under a certain restraint exercised by the farmers who provided them with living quarters.

We are of the opinion that there were some three or four thousand Negro migratory laborers employed in the area referred to during the years of 1937, 1938, and 1939. The greater majority came from the States of Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Approximately one-third of these workers had come up to the area of their own accord looking for work and the others had either been brought into the section by agents or had been employed with certain individual farmers over a period of years and had returned to work on a prearranged agreement.

In an effort to help the police in their problem there was instituted a series of conferences with representatives of the Potato Growers' Association and requested their support in having all migratory labor coming to their farms produce satisfactory personal identification or to insist that their employees be fingerprinted; to that end, fingerprinting of all migratory labor was recommended. They consented to this plan, and beginning July 30 of this year members of the State police will work along with the department of health, in shelters throughout the potato area, in taking fingerprint records of such laborers as voluntarily consent to have them taken. At the same time, all other available information concerning these individuals will be obtained.

CHILD LABOR

Previous surveys among migrant laborers have indicated the presence of the number of children under 16 years of age who by virtue of family connections were employed on farms, which has been found to be especially true of Italian families migrated from Philadelphia to the agricultural sections of New Jersey during the harvesting period. Climbing up to a distinctly lesser degree was the employment of child labor found to exist among Negroes. Inasmuch as employment of children in agricultural work was not included prior to 1940 in the provisions of the New Jersey child-labor law, there was no consequent relation. The influence resulting from the employment of children of all ages was reflected in several reports we mentioned; one of the most significant advances in the social-welfare conditions is reflected in the pages of the revised child-labor law signed by Gov. A. Harry Moore on June 25, 1940, and effective September 1, 1940, which for the first time makes provisions for the relations of children employed in agriculture. It is also significant to note that the farmers of New Jersey were in entire accord with the provisions of the new act, under which provisions children under 12 may not be employed in agriculture nor may they be employed at any time on the farms when the local schools are in session. This applied with equal effect to children who come into the State from adjoining areas. It may make necessary an extension of certain recreation and welfare programs which will be discussed under the next heading.

RECREATION AND SOCIAL WORK

Social welfare has been undertaken by private agencies, some of whom are continuing their important work on a more advanced scale at the present time. Several of these organizations included in their pattern of welfare work facilities for religious instruction and wholesome recreation during leisure periods for both adults and minors. The funds that are necessary to carry on this work are supplied entirely from private sources.

RELIEF

Through the representation of municipal aid conferences studies are being made to determine to what extent persons on local relief rolls may be used to supply a part of the demand during the peak season for agricultural labor.

A few years ago an attempt was made to supply such labor from certain relief areas. No attempt was made to follow up to a definite conclusion and consequently it is not known at this time whether or not such a course would be feasible. There was a feeling from the study of the data at hand that some of the colored migrants remain in the State and ultimately find their way to relief stations, but it has been difficult to determine positive quantitative results because of the difficulty of following these people in their travels.

State relief laws provide for 5-year settlements, but in any case, regardless of legal sentiment, the State is required by law to give temporary aid to needy persons, arranging for their transfer to legal residence in accordance with the provisions of the statutes. Whether or not it will be possible to translate these laws into some method for assisting the migrant situation will require further study.

In conclusion in summarizing the attitude of the State of New Jersey with reference to the migrant labor situation it is felt that the States through which various agencies must recognize the problem and provide for proper control and regulations which become all the more necessary because of the increasing growth of the interstate character of the movement, a potentially adverse effect on the economic life of the State if proper measures are not taken at this time.

The New Jersey conference is of the opinion that similar State groups should be formed in States along the Atlantic seaboard, so that procedures may be standardized and the efforts of all Federal and State agencies may be properly correlated to reduce duplication of effort.

Submitted by New Jersey Conference of State Departments on Migratory Labor

(C. G. Krueger, chairman; W. H. Allen, secretary)

REPRESENTATIVE	REPRESENTING
Robert W. Allan	Works Progress Administration.
H. G. Weiss	Department of agriculture.
Russel Eldridge	New Jersey State Employment Service.
H. J. Lepper (alternate)	New Jersey State Employment Service.
Ernest A. Harding	Department of education.
Wm. H. MacDonald	Department of health.[1]
Daniel Bergsma, M. D. (alternate)	Department of health.
Arthur Mudd	Federal Agency Committee.[2]
C. H. Schoeffel	State police.
John E. Sloane	State planning board.
E. E. Agger	State housing authority.

The **Chairman**. Now, were there any questions from the committee?

Mr. **Osmers**. How is the procedure to go on from here? Are we going to question the various heads of departments?

The **Chairman**. Would you like to hear these other men first?

Mr. **Osmers**. I think that that is well.

TESTIMONY OF MAJOR SCHOEFFEL

Mr. **Krueger**. I think Major Schoeffel has a message.

INCREASED POLICE PROBLEM PRESENTED BY MIGRATORY LABOR

Major **Schoeffel**. Briefly, I will state that large groups of migrant labor have been going into the counties of Mercer, Monmouth, and

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[1] Statement submitted by Mr. MacDonald appears on p. 111.

[2] Letter and statement by Mr. Mudd, submitted subsequent to the hearing, appears on p. 113.

Middlesex, in New Jersey, and there has been an increased police problem necessitating an increase of our personnel at the Hightstown station during the past 4 or 5 years. Both major and minor crimes have increased considerably in the areas referred to. We are of the opinion that a number of things could be done which would be of material assistance to the police generally, and to other State agencies affected.

I answered the conference call on March 6, which was a conference called by Deputy Commissioner C. G. Krueger, of the Department of Labor, chairman of the New Jersey Conference on Migratory Labor. A meeting had been held by the State police representatives, and representatives of the New Jersey Potato Growers Association in which it was suggested that all migratory labor be fingerprinted and that the State police check these fingerprints to determine if known criminals were being employed. Then if a crime were committed, the fingerprints would be a means of identification and would assist the police in apprehending the culprit, as information obtained from colored workers with knowledge of crimes committed by other workers is practically nil, either through fear or other reasons.

Again the problem of identification is difficult as few of the criminal element among the workers are known by proper names, and it is practically impossible to keep track of these persons as they shift from one farm to another.

We believe that migratory Negro labor is needed by the potato growers, and we feel that ways and means might be devised for licensing and bonding of agents who bring in the labor, proper health checks by the board of health, and closer cooperation by the potato growers in having them select a more desirable worker, which would eventually contribute toward the solution of the problem as it affects the police.

During the early part of 1935, some of the State police stations began to experience an increase in all types of crimes in and about the counties referred to. An investigation was conducted to determine the number of these workers, points of origin, and other related data, and a careful check was made of the several camps established by some of these migratory laborers, who were living in and about the area in makeshift camps of one type and another, and who were not under restraint of any type and were, we believed, responsible for the greatest part of the increase in crime, as stated before.

These groups differed from those living on the several farms where they were employed, as they were under a certain restraint exercised by the farmers who provided them with living quarters.

We are of the opinion that there are some three or four thousand Negro migratory laborers employed in this area, and I base this on the years 1937, 1938, and 1939. The great majority came from the States of Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

In our opinion, although there is no proof of this statistically, about one-third of the workers came up to the area of their own accord, looking for work. Two-thirds were either brought into the section by agents, or had been employed with certain individual farmers over a period of years and had returned to work on a prearranged agreement.

STATISTICS ON CRIME INCREASE IN AREAS OF MIGRATORY LABOR

Over a period of years we have picked up on one charge or another perhaps 40 or 50 Negro laborers, belonging to the migratory group, who have had criminal records. We believe the police need a method whereby these workers can be readily identified, which resulted in a conference with the farmers and by cooperating with the board of health the police were to take fingerprints of the workers on the farms. This, however, is to be on a voluntary basis of the employees.

A few years ago, a great many of the so-called unattached migratory laborers gathered into what we commonly called hobo jungle camps. However, most of these camps have been closed, and the occupants compelled to move out of the district. We presume that they moved to shelters provided by their employers, although we have no definite proof of this fact. I believe the State board of health assisted materially in promoting sanitary facilities of the several camps, in the shelters provided by the employers, and I do know that they have spent considerable time and effort in this direction, working with the police.

Now, beyond that, as I mentioned, we were not prepared from a statistical viewpoint to give figures on arrests in any one particular year, nor for all of the section of the State that has migratory labor.

It will be possible to assist the committee by preparing statistics of this nature from all of the police stations and we can carry the thing further by going to the various municipal police departments that handle this migratory labor and request them to prepare for us information for you in similar form.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that that would be very good, if you would do that.

Major SCHOEFFEL. We started this year by going to the magistrates and asking them to prepare a docket daily to be kept so that at the end of the month members of the State police station nearest to the magistrate's office could check the docket and determine exactly how many migratory laborers had been brought in and given a hearing, and also obtain the ultimate disposition of that case, whether he was acquitted or convicted, the type of crime, and sentence and punishment meted out, and that we can furnish the committee at the end of November for the year 1940. I believe it will be fairly complete.

The CHAIRMAN. We will insert it in the record.

Major SCHOEFFEL. To assist in setting forth some of the facts of the past 2 years I went to the State police station at Hightstown, N. J., yesterday. In going over the record of the period between July 1 and October 31, 1938, we determined that out of a total number of 600 arrests made by the men at that station, 227 of these arrests were made of migratory laborers.

Of the 600 arrests, approximately 73 percent were for motor-vehicle violations and not criminal or indictable offenses. That means about one-fifth or one-fourth of the arrests of all persons were for minor motor-vehicle offenses.

Just the other way around with migratory labor. Out of a total of 227, only 51 were for motor-vehicle violations. The charge, and the amount in each case of arrests on migratory labor are as follows:

Drunk and disorderly	68
Simple assault	38
Major assault, such as atrocious assault and battery	3

Carrying concealed and deadly weapons	9
Fugitive from justice	1
Vagrancy	7
Petty larceny	8
Larceny of fowl	4
Lewdness	2
Fraudulent check	1
Gambling	12
Material witnesses	18
Motor-vehicle laws	51
Disorderly person	5

That makes a total of 227.

Now, the motor-vehicle cases referred to were principally for the following offenses: Driving without proper license, driving with fictitious registration, causing accidents.

Very few of these arrests were for speeding, the charge on which the average person gets arrested. Does the committee care to go into the same thing for 1939?

The Chairman. Unless the committee wants it specifically at this time, I think this preliminary report, together with the other one in November, will give us the picture. I think that that is fine.

RECOMMENDATION FOR LICENSING OF LABOR AGENTS

Major Schoeffel. I would have one recommendation to make, and that is that the committee take under consideration that agents engaged in the transportation of migratory labor from one State to another be licensed and bonded, and that they be held liable for the safe conduct of the worker back to the point of origin, when the last crops have finally been harvested, and there is no longer a need for the individual in the area to which he has been transported by the agent.

The Chairman. In reference to that proposition, the committee's attention has already been directed to that and it is more severe, probably, in the Southern States and Western States than it is here. These private employment agencies are sending these people over to other States where there are no jobs, and when they cross State lines they come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. This committee is going to address itself to that problem and we expect to get some legislation that will take care of that, so that you are really anticipating us a little bit.

Major Schoeffel. Now, in 1939, the State police conducted for the Governor of New Jersey an investigation into the housing conditions, in and about the counties referred to in the potato district. We took a number of photographs of the living conditions, and we will be pleased to submit to the committee copies of those photographs which are not now available, but the negatives are, and I believe that there are some 30 or 40 scenes of habitation of colored folks in different sections of the State which we would be delighted to present to you.

The Chairman. We will be glad to have them.

Mr. Krueger. I think, Mr. Chairman, with your kind permission, I would like to ask Mr. MacDonald of the department of health if he has any additional information to offer or to submit any additional information or recommendations?

Mr. MacDonald. I do not think so, Mr. Chairman. The report was already submitted through Mr. Roland, and if you have any questions that I can answer——

The CHAIRMAN. As long as we get the report in, we have got so many witnesses to hear, and we want to get a sort of a birds-eye view of this, and follow it up with the introduction in the record of the statement, and if we have that I think that that is all that is necessary.

Mr. MACDONALD. You will have that.

COOPERATION AMONG STATE EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

Mr. ELDRIDGE. Congressman, I could only offer supporting detail to the outline that Mr. Krueger has given to you of the purposes of the State employment service, and its success in supplying necessary farm workers now for the work customarily done by migrants.

In one case we supply 416 Negroes, half of whom are drawn from the relief rolls, to a vegetable farmer, a large commercial farmer, and in another case we have supplied the strawberry pickers some 30, and are now engaged in furnishing about 40 potato pickers for a single farmer who has a farm and in those cases the workers were drawn from another State, actually the State of Virginia, and in cooperation with the State employment service there, where the natives were sent in and were identified and given a card to show as they cross the State line, and in any stage of that journey, and whom we watched to see that they returned to their homes at the conclusion of the employment.

That is typical of the solution which we think will greatly aid in meeting this problem and limit the number brought in so that the relief situation will not be unduly increased, and so that the local opportunities will be conserved to the greatest degree possible to the natives.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would like to ask Mr. Eldridge a question: These that you brought in from Virginia who were certified to you through that State service, it seems to me a very orderly way of handling it but I am wondering if in bringing those in, you carried out some of these other recommendations that were made, for instance, fingerprinting. Were those people fingerprinted anywhere along the line, either in Virginia or in New Jersey?

Mr. ELDRIDGE. We did not go to that phase of it as yet.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was just curious to know, and now also about the health angle of it, were they certified as not having communicable diseases of any nature?

Mr. ELDRIDGE. There was not sufficient time granted us after the receipt of the order and the requirement to start on the picking to have Virginia do that but the New Jersey health authorities searched them out and applied those tests.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wondered if, carrying it further, I understand it is more or less experimental, and if some such plan should be worked out, as between your State employment service and the State employment service in Virginia or Maryland or any other State, those additional features could be applied to it in the course of getting those workers into the State?

Mr. ELDRIDGE. There is no reason in the world, with proper facilities and legislative support, and if you did that you would have something, I really think.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. KRUEGER. I think that that is all, Mr. Chairman.

TESTIMONY OF H. J. LEPPER

Mr. Lepper. I have a report that I am going to submit to the committee, and if there are any questions that you want to ask I will be glad to answer them. We are making a survey of the potato growers, and we also have a complete survey of the canneries, and any information that you want about those workers, we are in a position to give.

I would not attempt to build up a statement because it would take hours to cover the subject. This book that I have here is a complete report on the potato growers, and involves 323 large major-crop farms. I say major crops, because 40 percent of our potato growers are what they commonly term commercial potato growers. The other 60 percent of the potatoes grown in the State are just part crops, but these people are almost entirely potato growers, and this covers 323, and involves 4,119 Negro workers. They are all Negro workers, and the break-down shows the State from which they came and the State to which they return, and also shows that there are about 19 percent of them who do not return. In other words, it is this 19 percent of those who were engaged in work, and does not include the number that were attracted to the State who do not become engaged in work. The fact is that they are here in New Jersey with the idea that they might get work, and in many cases they are persuaded to make the trip into the State by people who charge them $4 and $5 to make the trip from Virginia, and never get a job after they get there. They are our biggest problem.

The Chairman. You have that report now?

Mr. Lepper. I can turn it over to the committee. It consists of too many pages to attempt to read.

The Chairman. It can be left with the reporter.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE NEW JERSEY CONFERENCE OF STATE DEPARTMENTS ON MIGRATORY LABOR

State of New Jersey,
Department of Agriculture,
Trenton, April 29, 1940.

Mr. Russell Eldridge,
Director, Employment Service Division,
Unemployment Compensation Commission, Trenton, N. J.

Dear Mr. Eldridge: With this letter I am attaching a summary of the migratory Negro labor survey covering Middlesex, Mercer, and Monmouth Counties combined. Major Lepper has the individual reports for these 3 counties. Relative to the present report, it is my impression that the coverage was fairly complete and represents probably 95 percent or more of the farmers employing colored migratory labor. The total number of schedules was 325, and the farms were predominantly those growing potatoes. The total potato acreage of these farms was over 24,000, which is about 44 percent of 55,000, the total potato acreage of the State. The Negro labor is used mostly in harvesting potatoes, and to a much lesser extent in work connected with the other crops that are represented in the report.

Relative to the amount of Negro labor, you will note that a total of 4,119 was utilized in 1939. This is broken down into males, females, and children under 16 years. I do not believe that the number of families has any significance, because the farmers were not at all sure of the relationships of these people. The total 4,119 includes some unavoidable duplication, but I would assume that the total number of workers involved to be in the neighborhood of 4,000.

The reasons for the use of migratory Negro labor are self-explanatory, and no further comment is necessary.

Three methods of obtaining this labor are outlined in the report. The first one, "through contractor," includes two methods—the farmer may contract for the laborers themselves, or he may contract for the harvesting of the crop itself and not be particularly concerned about the number of laborers, etc., so long as the work gets done. Under No. 2, where the farmer makes his own arrangement, this includes cases where the farmer writes down South or where he has a standing arrangement with certain groups which come back year after year to his farm. Under No. 3, the laborers apply for work. These may be floating ones, or they may make their arrangements in advance. Nos. 2 and 3 could really have been combined.

As you will note, most of the laborers appear to come from Florida and Virginia, mostly from Florida, with a sprinkling of laborers from North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina. Apparently very few come from Philadelphia or the larger cities in New Jersey.

The statements under the length of time worked on the farm, and the information relative to when the work was started and finished are self-evident and need no comments.

Apparently it was difficult to get definite information on individual production. The number of reports on some of these items was not high and there is considerable variation in the figures, and I am inclined to be a little doubtful about the accuracy of these figures, and about the only definite thing they show is that the hourly earnings range from 20 to 35 cents.

The returns on the average amount picked per day, on crops other than potatoes, are also rather slim, and these figures should not be regarded as conclusive.

According to the report, almost 4,000 laborers will be needed in 1940.

The returns under "Use of local or relief labor" are self-explanatory, and I do not believe that the balance of the report needs any special comment either.

I am assuming that you will take this and perhaps combine it with the statements made up by the field men in order to arrive at a final committee report.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY B. WEISS.

Total number of schedules, 325:

Males	3, 356
Females	677
Children under 16	86
Families	474
Grand total	4, 119

Apply directly at farm	160
Farmer contacts contractor	35
Same gang each year	37
Farmer gets labor himself	25
Farmer contacts boss of gang	63
Total	320

Most of them originate in Florida and Virginia.

Needs in 1940—3,926 reported by 302 farmers.

MIDDLESEX, MERCER, AND MONMOUTH COUNTIES COMBINED

Total number of schedules reporting migratory labor, 325.

Total acres in farms, 47,006½, on 319 schedules; average, 147.

Acres in major crops in 1939

Crop	Acres	Number of reports	Average acreage per farm
Potatoes	24, 461	309	77
Grain	1, 204	36	33
Tomatoes	254	18	14
Miscellaneous truck	298	9	33
Apples and peaches	950	13	73
Field corn	359	20	18
String beans and peas	134	5	27
Lima beans	10	1	10
Asparagus	10	1	10
Cabbage	10	1	10
Hay and alfalfa	410	13	32
Strawberries	12	3	4
Raspberries	70	4	17
Sweet corn	58	4	15
Cauliflower	18	2	9

Amount of migratory Negro labor

	Total number	Number of reports	Male adults	Number of reports	Female adults	Number of reports	Children under 16 years	Number of reports
Families	474	144	510	144	492	185	86	25
Nonfamily	3, 031	316	2, 846	300	185	25		
Total	4, 119	323						
Migratory white	40	5	40	5				
Grand total	4, 159	328						

Reasons for using migratory Negro labor

	Number of reports
Local help not available	86
Only labor available to do type of work required	27
Always available and dependable	28
Good workers, willing to work at all hours	101
Local help not satisfactory	19
Local help will not work for prevailing wage scale	18
Local labor on Work Projects Administration will not or cannot do the work	26
Most satisfactory labor for potato digging	26
Same labor for several years	16
Work Projects Administration has spoiled local labor	6
Temporary work makes it hard for Work Projects Administration workers to be reinstated	5

How do you obtain labor?

	Number of reports	Number of laborers
Through contractor	62	1, 092
Farmer makes his own arrangement	101	1, 553
Laborers applied for work	160	1, 474
Total	323	4, 119

States and locations from which labor was procured and went on to completion of work

State and locations	Number coming from—	Number of reports	Number going to—	Number of reports
Florida	2, 379	203	1, 939	171
Virginia	722	67	612	59
North Carolina	198	27	173	24
Georgia	163	27	124	18
Alabama	63	6	47	5
West Virginia	3	1	3	1
South Carolina	117	15	109	13
New York	14	3	22	4
Another farm	13	3	163	23
Unknown	401	44	665	62
Long Island	1	1	112	11
Ohio	2	1	0	0
Maryland and Delaware	36	5	27	3
Stayed on farm all winter	0	0	11	3
Philadelphia	20	6	20	6
Freehold	6	1	36	2
Plainsboro	0	0	10	1
Princeton	3	2	28	3
Atlantic City	1	1	1	1
Newark	8	1	8	1
Tennessee	1	1	1	1
Hightstown	8	1	0	1
Paulsboro	0	0	34	1
Davis Station	0	0	14	1
Total (includes 40 white migratory laborers)	4, 159	[1] 416	4, 159	[1] 415

[1] The number of reports does not agree with the original number of 325 as the labor came from and wen to several different States on the same report.

Length of time worked on farms (available for work during this time—not always working)

	Number of workers	Number of reports
Number of workers for—		
Less than 4 weeks	163	16
Less than 4 weeks	142	16
Less than 5 weeks	120	12
Less than 6 weeks	259	21
Less than 7 weeks	200	7
Less than 8 weeks	730	59
Less than 9 weeks	170	14
Less than 10 weeks	328	22
Less than 11 weeks	168	11
Less than 12 weeks	1. 250	100
Less than 13 weeks	142	7
Over 13 weeks	493	42
Total	[1] 4, 165	[1] 327

[1] Some laborers worked a few weeks, laid off for a few weeks and started to work again.

Dates when work was started and finished

	Started		Finished	
	Number of workers	Number of reports	Number of workers	Number of reports
June 1-15	102	9		
June 16-30	52	4		
July 1-15	2,770	193		
July 16-31	554	48		
Aug. 1-15	565	55	193	19
Aug. 16-31	44	6	140	11
Sept. 1-15	64	10	913	68
Sept. 16-30	21	2	444	37
Oct. 1-15	28	2	1,694	126
Oct. 16-31			492	39
Nov. 1-15			311	29
Nov. 16-30			13	2
Total	4,200	329	4,200	331
Not answered	[1] 4		[1] 4	
Total	[2] 4,204		[2] 4,204	

[1] These were 4 migratory white laborers and were included in a schedule with some Negro labor. Time white laborers worked was not given.

[2] This does not agree with the total workers as listed above, as in some cases a group would work from July 1 to July 15, then lay off to start work Aug. 1-15.

Individual production

Potatoes	Amount picked per day [1]	Range [1]	Number of reports	Average price per unit	Range	Computed amount earned per day	Number of reports
Picking only:				*Cents*	*Cents*		
⅝ basket	172	75-200	9	1.3	1¼-2	$2.24	6
50-pound basket	131	70-200	11	1.82	1½-3	2.38	10
60-pound basket	109	25-250	14	2.77	2 - 4	3.02	21
100-pound bag	71	10-100	82	5.29	3 - 8	3.76	103
Picking and grading: 100-pound bag	79	50-150	31	7.45	5 -10	5.89	30
Picking, grading, and loading: 100-pound bag	75	35-200	42	7.6	6 - 9	5.70	57

[1] These figures are estimates by the farmers and many of the schedules were indefinite. To the best of our ability we have compiled the above figures. Personally we believe the figures for picking alone are reasonably accurate, but do not have much faith in "Picking and grading," and "Picking, grading, and loading" figures.

	Number of reports
Average quoted earnings per day, $3.29—range, $2.50-$7	134
Average quoted earnings per hour, $0.259—range, 20-35 cents	34

	Unit	Average amount picked per day	Range	Number of reports	Average price per unit	Range	Computed amount earned per day	Number of reports
					Cents	*Cents*		
Apples	Bushels	80	60-100	2	5	5	$4.00	1
Tomatoes	⅝ basket	82	50-125	12	4.95	4-7	4.06	11
String beans	⅝ basket	25		1	20		5.00	1
	Bushels	11	6-12	7	25	25	2.75	7
Lima beans	Bushels	12	12	1	30	30	3.60	1
Field corn	Stacks cut per day	60	60	2	6¼	5-7½	3.90	2
	Stacks husked per day	27.5	25-30	2	8½	7-10	2.34	2
Strawberries	Quarts	65	65	1	2½	2½	1.63	1
Cabbage	½ barrel	65	65	1	5	5	3.25	1
Cauliflower	Crates				30		2.00	1

Estimated number of laborers needed in 1940, 3,926; number of reports, 302.

HAVE LOCAL OR RELIEF LABORERS BEEN EMPLOYED IN THE PAST?

	Number of reports
No	119
Yes	162
No reports	2

COMMENTS

Unsatisfactory	39
Not dependable	39
Not enough available	35
Workers do not apply for work	20
Wages and hours not comparable to W. P. A.	19
Work is temporary, hard to get back on W. P. A.	21
Used the same satisfactory migratory labor for several years	4
W. P. A. has spoiled local workers	21
Satisfactory	13
Not capable of doing work	8
Prefers local help if satisfactory	7
Total	226

CAN STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE BE OF AID IN SUPPLYING WORKERS?

Yes	61
No	135
Doubtful	86
Total	282

WHERE CAN LABOR BE OBTAINED?

Locally	4
South	18
Relief	3

QUALIFICATIONS

Able to work long hours when needed	15
Able to stand hard work and heat	8
Good workers	9
Willing to work for prevailing wages and hours	16
Experienced in work	1
Able and willing to work	10
Total	59

MIGRATORY LABOR SURVEY

The following are members of a committee who have made a survey of conditions of potato growing in New Jersey as associated with migratory labor:

MERCER COUNTY

Walter L. Bryan, Trenton administrative office, New Jersey State employment service; East Windsor, West Windsor, and Washington Townships.

See report of H. T. Urian, Middlesex County, for his comments on migratory labor in West Windsor and Washington Townships, Mercer County.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

L. P. Hoagland, State of New Jersey, department of agriculture: Cranbury Township.

W. R. O'Brien, Perth Amboy office, New Jersey State employment service: Monroe Township.

H. T. Urian, New Brunswick office, New Jersey State employment service: Plainsboro and South Brunswick Townships (also some parts of West Windsor and Washington Townships, Mercer County).

MONMOUTH COUNTY

E. W. Brinkerhoff, Trenton office, New Jersey State employment service: Upper Freehold Township, Cream Ridge, Perrineville, and Millstone Township.

Bennett S. Cooper, Asbury Park office, New Jersey State employment service: Freehold Township.

Walter L. Davis, Red Bank office, New Jersey State employment service: Atlantic, Holmdel, and Marlboro Townships.

R. B. Lott, State of New Jersey, department of agriculture: Manalapan and Howell Township.

RÉSUMÉ OF MIGRATORY-LABOR SURVEY

Submitted by: Walter L. Bryan, Trenton administrative office, New Jersey State employment service, April 13, 1940.

Territory covered: Mercer County, East Windsor, West Windsor, and Washington Townships.

I have in every case told the growers whom I've interviewed, of the New Jersey State employment service, its functions, etc., and asked their suggestions as to how we may be able to help them.

A few suggested that if through cooperation with the services of other States we could issue referral cards to migrant laborers, insuring and expediting their travel to the jobs, and develop some system of returning them to their homes at the end of the picking season, it would help to offset the feeling against them.

As to question 14, many growers decline to give positive information as to the earning ability or average wages paid to workers. They indicate the amount paid the contractor for each bag picked, disclaiming any knowledge of what the workers get.

If pressed too hard, they frankly refuse to give this data.

Submitted by: W. R. O'Brien, Perth Amboy Office, New Jersey State Employment Service, April 13, 1940.

Territory covered: Middlesex County, Monroe Township.

Having contacted the various potato growers in Monroe Township, it appears to be the opinion of the potato growers that the migrant is the only present solution to the potato harvesting. They readily inform you that if local help was available, they would not be forced to use the migrant. The various reasons stated as to why they use this type of labor are the same in all instances.

The following are the main assets of the migrant laborer, from the growers' point of view:

In most cases, they dwell on the premises of the growers who employ them, and this, in the farmers' viewpoint, is very important. This local habitation makes them available at all times, as the digging of the crop depends on favorable weather conditions. Their race and background enable them to endure intense summer heat, and the farmers seem unanimous in their opinion that they are most adaptable for this kind of work, and that they can stand long work hours, and very productive.

Potato digging depends on two major factors. They are: (1) Weather conditions, (2) market fluctuation.

It is here that the migrant plays such an important part, from the viewpoint of the growers. If digging conditions are favorable, the migrant sometimes works from 4 a. m. until 10 a. m. Due to "potato scald," it is not uncommon for them to again resume picking at 4 p. m. and work until darkness.

If the market goes down, no digging is done during this period, and again, the point is stressed that the migrant is contented to be idle until operations are resumed, be it a day or a week. The growers feel assured, from past experience, that local help would not work under these conditions.

The migratory workers, in most cases, are in charge of a leader, who generally contracts with the grower as to the amount of help to be supplied. This contractor writes to the grower he formerly worked for early in the spring of each year, and the grower, in turn, informs him of the amount of help he can use. In some instances, the contractor or leader motors here in May and June, and receives his order personally as to the number of men that will be needed. The practice of contracting is most prevalent among the larger growers.

This form of contracting seems very popular among the growers, as the contractor is also one of the workers, and also acts as foreman of his men. The contractor receives a set amount for picking-grading, and he, in turn, pays his men. This arrangement enables the grower to devote his full time to other than field supervision. From my observation, it is evident that migrant labor is increasing each year, due, in the main, to the fact that the amount of potato acreage is increasing in this section of the State.

Regarding relief clients, it seems that the growers are again unanimous in their opinion that persons on relief, and Work Projects Administration workers, are not interested in potato picking as the work is of such an uncertain nature that if they were to leave their Work Projects Administration jobs, or go off relief, there is always the question in their minds of being reinstated.

Having contacted and discussed the matter of employment with growers, I feel that it would be difficult for the New Jersey State Employment Service to be of substantial help to the farmers. I base my opinion on what I learned of the difference between what an agricultural laborer earns on the farm and what he receives from any other type of employment. This is partly due to the fact that the farm laborer's work at potato picking is seasonal, and of an intermittent nature, and local people are not satisfied to work under such conditions. Migratory labor appears to be willing to accept such conditions.

Submitted by: H. T. Urian, New Brunswick Office; New Jersey State Employment Service, April 9, 1940, and April 10, 1940.

Territory covered: Middlesex County, Plainsboro and South Brunswick Townships; Mercer County, West Windsor and Washington Townships.

Picking season.—Extends from July through to November 1.

Conditional factors in potato picking.—Digging, picking, and grading of potatoes depends on crop maturity, weather, and prevailing market price and demand. It must be noted that potatoes are dug early in the morning (daybreak), 5 a. m. to 6 a. m., and late in the afternoon (sundown), 4 p. m. to 5 p. m. The morning picking up must take place immediately as potatoes are subject to scorch from the sun, which scorching makes the potatoes unsalable as rot sets in very quickly. Potatoes are sometimes dug the previous evening and picked up the following morning. Due to varying market price and demand, potatoes are not dug until sold; hence, it follows that the potato grower may receive an order at 2 p. m. on a given day for delivery to buyer or broker that same evening by 8 p. m., which means a late afternoon digging, picking, and grading. It may be true also that no digging or picking took place in the morning of that particular day. From the foregoing it is evident that there is a period between approximately 10 a. m. and 4 p. m. when no work is available for the pickers and graders.

Yield per acre.—The yield of potatoes per acre runs from 70 to 140 bags of 100 pounds, or higher in some cases. On any given farm it varies from acre to acre according to ground and weather conditions.

Prevailing wages or rate for potato picking and grading.—There are two methods of payment for potato picking. The contract basis is an arrangement between the contractor (Negro in most cases), who has a crew of migratory Negro labor in number, depending on acreage of potatoes and the grower. This contract calls for the picking, hauling from the field, grading, and bagging (100-pound bags) all potatoes for the season. The prevailing figure is 8 cents a bag (100 pounds), ready for the market except where the grower hauls from field to the barn in which case the rate is 7 cents a bag. The contractor in turn pays his crew as follows: Pickers, 2 cents a basket (35 pounds) to 4 cents a bushel (50 pounds); graders, 25 cents per hour; day workers, 25 cents per hour. It should be noted that the farmer on paying off the contractor usually insists that contractor pay off at once to his crew.

The other method of remuneration is the contract between the individual worker and the farmer. The prevailing figure is 2 cents a basket (35 pounds) to 3½ cents a bushel (50 pounds). Those workers who do grading or day work are paid at the rate of 25 cents an hour. Living quarters are provided by the growers in both types of payment in addition to above consideration.

Those growers who have an acreage of 50 or more in potatoes have a tendency to favor the contract basis, while those with less acreage favor the individual contract.

Individual production and earnings.—The opinion on individual production varies with the size measure used and the number of acres dug in a given day for a given sale; also the productivity of an individual. From the statement of the growers an average worker may pick 100 bushels (50 pounds) to 100 bags

(100 pounds), thus earning from $2.50 to $4 a day. While the below average earns less, the better than average may earn $5 to $6 a day. It must again be noted that weather, prevailing demand, and market price are factors in over-all productivity levels for the individual. There are weeks when digging takes place 5 days a week and sometimes only 1 day. Also a week may go by two or three times in the season when no digging occurs. From facts stated, the average weekly earnings range from $8 to $14 per week, with favorable conditions present for potato picking.

Source and method of securing migratory Negro labor.—Florida is the known home State of the majority of the migratory Negro labor, with a small percentage from Virginia and the Carolinas. Potato growers are now receiving letters from individual workers and the contractors as to the growers' needs for the 1940 season. The farmer responds as to the number and the approximate time digging will start. In some cases it is admitted by the grower that he sends money to aid this labor in getting to New Jersey. But in many cases the grower is not approached till digging season, and is then solicited personally by the contractor or individual worker, due to the knowledge of the labor that the work is here for them. There is some indication by the growers that there is too great an influx of the migratory Negro labor.

Why Negro migratory labor employed.—"Unavailability and nondependability of local labor," and "Negro migratory labor most satisfactory due to conditional factors in potato digging" (see par. 2) are the two most prominent reasons for employing the migratory Negro labor.

"Availability and willingness to work as needed" should be included in relation to the conditional factors. The first-mentioned reason is contingent to the second paragraph of this brief. Also daily transportation, earnings, and unwillingness of white labor to perform this work.

Some growers assert that acreage has been increased as much as 50 percent since having Negro migratory labor available—that if they were not available, potato acreage would have to be decreased because of the unavailability of local labor for potato picking.

Employment of local or relief labor.—"Have used in the past but have not been able to secure for past 5 years," is the typical answer. Some claim this is due to Work Projects Administration and relief, while some admit it is due to conditions of potato picking which is not attractive to white or Negro local labor. It is agreed that the individual cannot be sure of his earnings from day to day which must have a definite bearing on the unavailability or unwillingness of the local labor. The temporary nature of the work must also have some bearing on the unwillingness of the local labor. It is also admitted by the farmers that no help is available in the rural areas which leaves only the urban areas to draw on. It is a known fact that it is difficult to get city dwellers to work on a farm.

Can the State employment service aid in supplying workers?—Most growers do not feel that employment service can aid in securing local labor inasmuch as they have pretty thoroughly covered their own areas to secure local labor and have not been successful. As to securing labor from the city areas, it has not worked out to their interests when using city people because they are not willing to work under the conditions necessary to potato picking, nor have they been satisfied with the earnings. Also, the growers claim to have lost quantities of potatoes due to scorch when local labor failed to show up for picking. Thus, they failed to see how we could aid in securing local labor.

Comments of growers on control of migratory labor.—It apparently is conceded by the growers that some regulation or control may be necessary, but all are fearful that the migratory Negro labor may be prevented from entering the State. Some growers feel that some trouble is caused by too great a number entering the State in excess of the grower's needs for potato picking. One grower suggested the control be vested in a township committee who would arrange to canvass the growers as to their needs and allow only that number in township for potato-picking season, and exercise care in the quality of the migratory Negro labor.

Comment was made as to the Cranbury painting affair, and all condemned the action that took place. Growers were concerned over the State police action in the taking of pictures of migratory labor in chicken houses under false conditions. Farmers insist that decent living quarters provided are superior to that which the labor has in the South. Also stated is the fact that they have found the migratory labor will not use sanitary facilities and do not appreciate up-to-date living quarters.

The writer found the growers cooperative in discussing the problem and believes that they will cooperate in every way possible to bring about a more favorable outlook on the use of the migratory Negro labor.

Numbers of workers employed in relation to potato acreage and yield per acre.—There is no definite relation in the number of workers employed as against the actual acreage in potatoes or the total yield for entire acreage. To illustrate: Grower A has 90 acres of potatoes, employs 8 workers from July 15 to Ocotber 1, has a yield of 75–185 bags per acre or an average of 110 bags per acre. His total yield is 12,000 bags, at a cost of approximately $750 for labor (average daily production for all workers, 600 bags). Grower B has 50 acres of potatoes, employs 20 workers, from the fourth week in July until October 1, has a yield of 70–150 bags per acre or an average of 120 bags per acre. Total yield 6,000 bags, approximately at a cost of $500 for labor.

These two cases repeat themselves in smaller or larger acreages. The reason such cases exist rests on the market price and demand through the broker versus the grower who wants to be in the position of filling an order in a given day for 1,000 bags by having sufficient manpower, as opposed to the grower who may be able to have ready only 600 bags in a given day due to lesser manpower.

Evidently, there is no way of curbing this practice which in the final analysis cuts the individual earning power greatly when too great a number are on a given farm.

Can the employment service aid in supplying workers? (Supplemental statement).—The potato growers have also been informed as to the employment service in regards to our interstate clearance and the possibilities of assisting them in securing migratory labor by means of this plan.

The answer to this statement has been one of doubt, because the labor is migratory. The majority originate in Florida and begin to trek northward at the close of the Florida potato season approximately the middle of April. They work their way through the seaboard southern States until the potato season opens in New Jersey after the first of July.

Hence, they point out the uncertainty of contacting this labor after it once leaves Florida, because they do not believe this labor contacts State employment services due to their plan of following whatever crop harvest which may be available in the various States. They further point out that due to the way this migratory labor lives, usually on some crop grower's land, constantly moving about, there is no definite address where these workers can be contacted.

The following question was put to the writer: "Would the State employment service, if it did secure this migratory labor from without the State, be responsible for bringing it into the State, rather than the potato grower who has been accused of encouraging the influx in the past?"

Interviewer's comment.—I believe the only way we could successfully operate a plan of supplying this migratory labor would be through the cooperation of the Negro contractors or bosses so as to clear this labor through the southern employment offices, so that we, in turn, could secure this same labor.

MONMOUTH COUNTY

Submitted by: Eugene W. Brinkerhoff, Trenton office, New Jersey State Employment Service, April 13, 1940.

Territory covered: Monmouth County, Upper Freehold Township, Cream Ridge, Perrineville, and Millstone Township.

I find that the majority of farmers visited regard migratory labor as a vital need at this time. They claim that there is not enough local labor to supply their needs for harvest hands. It is claimed that this type of labor will work from daylight until 11 o'clock at night loading trucks when required.

The farmers who bring their workers, either families or groups, up each year by corresponding with them are the best suited employers.

About 90 percent of these farmers would be glad to use local labor if this labor were available. They would like to use native State labor if they could get them qualified to do the work.

Farmers average up to 150 sacks of potatoes per acre or up to 300 bushels per acre. They pay from 3 to 7½ cents per sack. The higher pay per sack usually means that the farmer only counts the bags on the truck, and all grading, sorting, and loading is done by the picker. The lower pay of 3 cents per sack is for picking only. Twenty-five cents per hour is paid for all other work except for picking.

They are in most all cases favorable to the idea of having some control of this out-of-State labor. They realize that there is a most undesirable element in this group, many being diseased and undoubtedly have police records. They also state that they are in most cases favorable to having the New Jersey State Employment Service act as a medium for supplying them with labor—if qualified labor can be secured, either local or migratory.

Submitted by: Bennett S. Cooper, Asbury Park office, New Jersey State Employment Service, April 6, 1940, and April 13, 1940.

Territory covered: Monmouth County, Freehold Township.

Reasons for hiring migratory Negro labor:

1. Availability in sufficient numbers at time when needed.
2. Willingness to work the irregular hours necessitated by lay-off through heat of day.
3. Skill and training acquired through following potato crops north from Florida.
4. Possibility of using workers for rush orders and emergency work at odd times because they reside on the farm.

Most farmers feel there is nothing the employment service can do for them. Quite a number expressed a willingness to be shown, but were skeptical as to the possibility of interesting local workers because of the hours required and the wages paid. Work Projects Administration was felt to have been too strong a competitor and to have destroyed in local workers any interest in potato work.

Some farmers were willing to agree that stricter supervision of migratory workers might be a good thing. It would seem that the employment service might work into the picture in a regulatory or supervisory capacity if the farmers could be assured that no changes in wages and hours would result.

Supplementing my summary submitted on April 6, 1940, the average earnings of the migratory potato workers will run from $2.50 to $4 a day.

Men on the grader receive from 25 to 30 cents an hour and often work 10 hours a day.

Men in the field, picking, are paid by the sack or bushel, and will average more than the men on the grader. They will average 50 to 100 bags (100 pounds) at 5 to 6 cents a bag. However, some farmers may use larger bags and pay 7 to 8 cents. In some cases the pay is by the bushel and will run from 2½ to 3 cents a bushel.

It is impossible to get the actual earnings because of the variety of pay systems and the irregular hours worked.

April 10, 1940: Regarding question 17 of the survey, I have not found a farmer who really believes the employment service can aid in supplying workers.

These farmers do not consider there is any problem as regards labor in their territory. They have all the help they want in migratory labor and they are more than satisfied with the work this group supplies.

The qualifications required by these farmers I have outlined in an earlier report submitted last week. (See p. 1.)

The farmers do not particularly care where the labor comes from as long as it produces. All things being equal, they would choose local labor over migratory. However, local labor is not available in sufficient quantities, nor is it willing to work the hours involved nor at the rate paid.

Submitted by: Walter L. Davis, Red Bank office, New Jersey State Employment Service, April 13, 1940.

Territory covered: Monmouth County, Atlantic, Holmdel, and Marlboro Townships.

The following is a résumé of the facts in regard to the employment of migratory Negro labor, as I found them, through interviewing potato growers in Monmouth County:

A. Migratory Negro labor was employed because difficulty was experienced in obtaining competent farm workers. This was due, it was believed, to three things.

1. The unemployed no longer came from the city in the summer seeking employment, and factory workers who heretofore had been laid off in the tile and brick

companies of Matawan, Keyport, and Cliffwood during the hot weather were no longer available, as these companies were either closed permanently or had installed tunnel kilns (which didn't require a summer lay-off).

2. Work Projects Administration wages and relief made farm wages unattractive.

3. People on relief and on Work Projects Administration seriously objected to accepting temporary employment, due to their fears of being unable to return when the farm work was over.

B. The migratory labor proved very satisfactory because—

1. The fact that they lived on the farm made them available at all times.

2. The Negroes were quite willing to work, in fact the majority of the smaller farmers stated the Negroes came to their farm seeking employment.

3. The Negroes were willing to lay off during the heat of the day when potato digging is impossible due to the sun scald.

4. The wages for which the Negro was willing to work was in the range that the farmer was able to pay.

5. The fact that these Negroes had been picking potatoes in Southern States where the season is earlier than New Jersey's potato season proved satisfactory to the farmer, as this labor was both used to and skilled in potato picking (no breaking-in period was necessary).

6. The fact that in a number of cases (usually the larger farms) the Negro foreman supervised the work and distributed the pay roll, made it considerably easier for the farmer.

C. There were a few farmers who admitted that the higher wages paid in New Jersey attracted these Negroes in increasing numbers each year and that very shortly, if it didn't already exist, there would be more migratory Negroes than there would be available work. That this overabundance of available workers would create a problem even for the farmer and that it might be advisable that some sort of reasonable control be exercised. It was also admitted that syphilitic Negroes should not be admitted at all. All the farmers were adamant in their statement that they could not possibly dispense with migratory Negro labor.

(NOTE.—I should like to draw to your attention the fact that it was difficult in some cases to get an answer for question 4, as very few seemed to know how many families were involved. For example, one farmer said, "What the hell; I don't ask them for their marriage certificates." They also disliked being questioned about the children under 16 years age. Question 2 proved a nemesis because suspicion was immediately aroused that we were checking on their acreage for the crop limitation program of the Agriculture Adjustment Administration. Answers to question 14, too, were difficult because of the methods used to pay the labor did not make it necessary to keep records and they were generally reluctant to give any information that might subject them to prosecution for violation of the minimum wage law. Finally I was accused of prying into their personal business in my efforts to determine the yield per acre, as they felt that it would disclose the extent of their profits and that the Department would divulge this information to the income-tax people.)

With these exceptions, the farmers proved to be cooperative and friendly in spite of the fact that I reached them at a time when they were extremely busy.

SUMMARY

Thirty-eight farmers were interviewed in the 5 days. More than 260 migratory Negroes were employed in 1939, with 1,920 acres planted in potatoes, with the 1940 figures in both cases expected to be approximately the same. The yield varied anywhere from 160 to 290 100-pound bags of No. 1 potatoes to the acre. The pickers were paid on an average of 7 cents a hundredweight, graded, bagged, and loaded.

Inasmuch as their labor problems were solved by the migratory Negro, it was universally felt that the New Jersey State Employment Service could be of little service in the matter.

Few farmers were able to tell me the average number of bags (hundredweight) picked per day. From the laborers that remain through the winter, I was told that a good average was 75 hundredweight bags of No. 1 potatoes.

Submitted by Ralph B. Lott, State of New Jersey, Department of Agriculture, April 13, 1940.

Territory covered, Monmouth County, Manalapan and Howell Townships.

The following is a summary of my observations of the migratory labor situation in the townships of Manalapan and Howell.

1. All farmers contacted are highly pleased with the southern help in all respects. They make the claim that there is no other way to get their crops harvested at the present time and under present conditions. Also the work is done with much more ease and dispatch, and without uncertainty met with when they used to hire local help together with so-called drifter help from the cities.

2. Many farmers say they would be willing to hire local labor (if they would work) at the same prices paid the migratory Negro labor—prices or wages per day—ranging from $2 to $4 per day, depending on the crop being harvested.

(NOTE.—Over and over again it was stated local labor will not work. Cannot be depended upon when some few do work.)

3. Very few farmers had hired relief workers, stating they (the relief workers) would not work because it was easier working on relief jobs, and because if they should work for farmers and others they could not go back on relief again without a great deal of trouble and loss of time and money.

4. Most farmers doubted very much if the New Jersey State Employment Service could be of much aid in supplying farm workers, due to the rather large numbers needed at once and in a rather brief time—i. e., about 2½ months—and to the present conditions in general.

NEW JERSEY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION COMMISSION,
NEW JERSEY STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE,
Trenton, N. J., May 29, 1940.

C. GEORGE KRUEGER,
Deputy Commissioner, Department of Labor,
Trenton, N. J.

DEAR MR. KRUEGER: Pursuant to the task assigned to your committee to conduct a survey of the labor situation in the migrant phase of the potato farm growers in New Jersey, I hand you herewith copies of the field reports and statistical summary of the results of the study, the latter through the courtesy of Harry B. Weiss and his staff.

The study was conducted by a group of field agents consisting of 2 employees of the State department of agriculture and 6 employees of the State employment service, and consumed approximately 2 weeks and consisted of visits to individual farmers. The report is fairly complete and indicates that approximately 4,000 laborers, chiefly of migratory character, are involved in this type of work, which was the so-called commercial growers of potatoes.

The summary indicates that the crop studied and the acreage involved is approximately 44 percent of the local potato acreage of the State, but it is understood that the labor situation in the remaining acreage is of quite a different character. It is understood that it involves less of a concentration of a single crop (potatoes) in each farm and that the migrant phase is considerably less.

It will be noted that difficulty was found in learning the individual production of workers. Farmers were, in many cases, reluctant to give this information. Where it was obtained, it demonstrated a great variety of practices in payment and in the services required. This lack of common practice, as well as lack of apparent general knowledge of the actual labor costs, is to me most significant. It may possibly mean that the use of this migrant labor with the involvement of the practices which include a considerable surrender of the usual control by the employer of work practices, would indicate that this type of labor cannot be viewed as the most satisfactory or efficient answer to the employers' problems.

Yours very truly,

RUSSELL J. ELDRIDGE, *Director.*

NEW JERSEY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION COMMISSION,
NEW JERSEY STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE,
Trenton, N. J., June 19, 1940.

C. GEORGE KRUEGER,
Chairman, Migratory Labor Conference,
Trenton, N. J.

DEAR MR. KRUEGER: The meeting of the policy committee, June 12 last, considered the question of information and possible research or surveys, and also concluded as a first step, to review past surveys and to attempt to project the data into the present with the hope that this would either provide the general data which might be desired or on the other hand, would indicate the additional data which might require further surveys.

Mr. Harry Weiss, of the survey committee, kindly consented to perform this task, and I am happy to hand you herewith the results of his work, namely, migratory Italian families on agricultural work other than potato harvest, which brings the situation to date.

Mr. Ernest A. Harding, representing educational interests, was particularly interested in the present volume of children so far as it might affect educational facilities or interests. I feel that the report meets this interest. The other basic question was the quantity of total workers, and I feel that the answer is provided by this report for all practical purposes even though it is not an exact counting of heads.

Mr. Weiss suggests items which may need further clarification, chiefly rates of pay and earnings. As indicated above, the approach apparently called for is a field survey on these points. May I refer to my letter of transmittal of the field survey on Negro potato-harvest labor, which reported that the items of rates of pay and earnings were those on which the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining facts. Apparently then, a field survey would again be deficient on these two points in the field herein referred to.

May I also point out in this report, an estimate with regard to the effect of assembly bill 174 (committee substitute A and B). In addition to the effect estimated on child labor, it raises the suggestion that the effect on child labor may act to deter adult members of families involved from returning to this type of work. If this may be the result then we may look for a very large elimination of the effects of migratory workers in this field of agriculture.

Very truly yours,

RUSSELL J. ELDRIDGE,
Chairman, Survey Committee, Migratory Labor Conference.

MIGRATORY ITALIAN LABOR IN NEW JERSEY

According to the 1930 survey,[1] 580 migratory Italian families came to New Jersey for seasonal farm work. Each family consisted of an average of 6.4 persons, making the total number of persons coming to New Jersey 3,719. Of this total, 428 were 5 years old or less and out of the work picture; 1,798 were between the ages of 6 and 15; and 1,493 were over 15.

	Number	Percent
Children, both sexes, 5 years or less	428	11.5
Children, both sexes, between 6 and 15	1,798	48.3
Persons, both sexes, over 15	1,493	40.2
Total	3,719	100.0

Of the 3,719 persons, 88.5 percent, or 3,291, worked, in varying degrees. In order to supply 3,291 workers, 3,719 migrated.

According to A Summer in the Country,[2] which is a report of the National Child Labor Committee, setting forth the results of a 1938 sample survey intended to bring the 1930 State survey up to date, it is estimated that 1,000 Italian families migrate to New Jersey each year. This agency surveyed 251 families, each having an average number of seven persons. The total number of persons involved was 1,764. A thousand families with an average of seven persons each would bring the total to 7,000. According to this 1938 sample survey 66 percent of the 1,764 persons did farm work; in other words, all 6 years old and over. This percentage applied to 7,000 persons would amount to 4,620 persons, the number of workers in a migration of 7,000 persons.

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[1] Report of Committee to Investigate Employment of Migratory Children in State of New Jersey, 1931.

[2] National Child Labor Committee Survey, 1938.

A total of 7,000 persons at this date (1940) seems to be high. It would seem as if 5,000 were a better figure. The following table gives a comparison of the surveys and of the estimates for 1940, by the two agencies:

	Number of families	Average persons per family	Total number persons migrating	Percent of total working
1930 survey	580	6.4	3,719	88.5
1938 sample survey	251	7.0	1,764	66.0
National Child Labor Committee estimate for 1940	1,000	7.0	7,000	66.0
New Jersey Department of Agriculture estimate for 1940	780	6.4	5,000	88.5

RECRUITMENT OF ITALIAN WORKERS

The 1938 sample survey found the methods of hiring to be as follows:

	Number	Percent
Families finding employment through friends	37	14.7
Families finding employment through own efforts	43	17.1
Families finding employment through farmers	44	17.5
Families finding employment through agents and padrones	127	50.6
Total		99.9

The 1930 survey did not cover methods of employment.

Distribution of migratory families in 1930

	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Burlington Co	309	53.3	Atlantic	71	12.2
Gloucester	52	9.0	Salem	12	2.1
Cumberland	64	11.0			
Ocean	11	1.9	Total	580	100.0
Camden	61	10.5			

OTHER ITEMS

With respect to living quarters, sleeping accommodations, toilet facilities, garbage disposal, hours worked, school days lost, it is believed that the results of the 1930 survey are still good—as approximately representing present-day conditions. The items on which exact information is lacking are—actual numbers of migratory workers involved, rates of pay, and earnings.

A Summer in the Country adds only a little to the conditions as presented in the 1930 State survey. In 1938 when the survey was made, agricultural conditions in New Jersey were not good. Farm prices were low, the workers earned less than they expected, and conditions were bad for farmers and workers alike. In part, the conditions described in A Summer in the Country are couched in general terms and there is a tendency to present only the worst features of migratory labor.

PRESENT LEGISLATION RELATIVE TO CHILD LABOR

The committee substitutes A and B for assembly bill No. 174 at this writing (June 17, 1940) have passed both branches of the legislature. These bills are designed to limit and regulate child labor in New Jersey. Insofar as migratory labor is concerned these bills provide that:

"No minor under 16 years of age not a resident of this State shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work in any occupation or service whatsoever at any time during which the law of the State of his residence requires his attendance at school, or at any time during the hours when the public schools in the district in which employment in such occupations or services may be available are in session."

In addition, it is provided that no child under 12 years may be employed in agricultural pursuits; that children under 16 years of age may be permitted to work when schools are not in sesison if they hold special permits from the issuing officer of a school district: that the work of such children be limited to not more than 6 consecutive days in any one week, and not more than 10 hours per day.

The above, when it becomes a law, will remove from consideration about 50 percent of the migratory Italians who have been accustomed to work in New Jersey during the time schools are in session. As each child loses an average of 39 days of schooling, this means, on the basis of the 1930 survey, that approximately 1,800 children between 6 and 15 years of age will not be available for 39 days each year. It should be kept in mind, however, that the harvesting ability of this age group is much less than that of the older persons. In addition, children under 12 will not be permitted to work during the time schools are not in session. This removes from employment 993 children (on the basis of the 1930 survey) between the ages of 6 to 11, inclusive, for a period of about 3 months (June 15 to September 15). Although the numbers of children taken out of employment are substantial for the periods in question, it should be remembered that children harvest much less than older persons. The fear advanced by farmers is that the regulations prohibiting the employment of children may keep some of the Italian adults in Philadelphia so long as they cannot benefit by the work of all members of their families.

June 18, 1940.

TESTIMONY OF H. J. LEPPER—Resumed

Mr. Lepper. It covers every part of the potato growing and there is also included a supplementary part on other vegetable growers. We have no report on the canneries. In fact we did not treat the cannery question very seriously, but I understand that some members had some questions that they wanted to ask on some of our largest canneries, and if they do we can give you the answer. We have it right here.

The Chairman. Does any member of the committee desire to ask some questions?

Mr. Osmers. I have some general questions on the New Jersey problem. In the first place, all of the men who have appeared here from New Jersey today have devoted themselves, more or less, to the discussion of the people that have come into New Jersey to work, and who have worked there, and who have gone from the State after they have completed their work.

SETTLEMENT LAW

Now, do we have any considerable number of destitute citizens coming into New Jersey and remaining as destitute citizens while they are there?

Mr. Lepper. The Financial Assistance Commission has not been able to give us anything official on that, but we do find that there is a definite problem along those lines.

Now, the general answer originally was that a person had to be a citizen, or be a resident, rather, of New Jersey for 5 years before he was eligible for relief, but it also says that nobody shall be allowed to starve, so consequently these people become relief cases.

Then there are cases reported to the State relief headquarters, and an attempt is made to establish their residence, and if they find a man comes from Georgia, and they then write to Georgia and try to get Georgia to say that they will take this man back, if New Jersey will pay his railroad fare, but in most cases when they write to Georgia, they reply he was a resident but he is no longer and you have got him and now you keep him. It has amounted to a larger problem than we anticipated.

It is generally conceded, and I do not think it is far wrong, that the figures will show about 25 percent of them remain in the State.

Mr. Osmers. Twenty-five percent of what?

Mr. Lepper. Of these Negro migrants. The figures show in this report that 19 percent of those who have jobs do not go back, and those that do not get jobs will certainly make up 25 percent. At the conference in Washington, Florida reported that when they start down in Hastings each year, there is a change of faces of from 25 to 50 percent.

In other words, as those people start out from Florida this year, and start north, anywhere from 25 to 50 percent do not come back next year. They stay somewhere along the line.

WAGE RATES

Mr. Osmers. There is another question that I would like to ask: This is a general question for anyone to answer who is in a position to do so. Do you feel that the fact that the wages paid by the farmers who employ migratory labor—do you feel that the wages are insufficient to attract local labor that might be available there to do the work?

Mr. Krueger. Congressman, our report regarding the potato survey shows from the original data submitted to the investigators that the wage rate starts at about 20 cents an hour, and averages approximately 35 cents an hour. It would be difficult to say whether or not that is satisfactory to local labor.

Mr. Osmers. I was a little dissatisfied with respect, Mr. Chairman, to that particular phase when we stopped in the course of our trip across New Jersey. The potato farmer said that the pay rate was from 25 to 40 cents an hour, depending upon the individual occupation in potato picking that the migrant would be employed on, but in speaking to one of the migrants—I believe he was a contractor—he said that they received 3 cents for a field bag of 65 pounds, that is, a field sack, and in questioning him very closely he said that an A No. 1 hand could possibly pick up to 100 field sacks in a day, which would be $3 a day. But from the way he said it I gathered the impression that probably only 1 percent of all of the potato pickers in New Jersey could possibly pick them that fast.

Now, I don't know whether the department of labor could supply us with some actual figures on that; on the amount of pay received on these fields.

Mr. KRUEGER. I have nothing on that, I think the employment service might tell us what they propose to do to continue the search into the wage question.

Mr. ELDRIDGE. We found when we started out with an idea of obtaining the reduction in the volume of individual farm workers, so that we could eventually relate the needs of the crops involved and thus make a determination of the maximum of the people who ought to be attracted to that particular work, but in our survey of the potato situation we met with a discouraging situation. The farmers who were interrogated were either unable or unwilling to give us that factor so that we got very small returns and a considerable variety of practices, so that that factor rests upon estimate, except that we are now cooperating with another field survey in the fruit and vegetable area, to determine that from the workers themselves. In addition to that the State board of health has men checking the syphilitic situation, and they are now also asking the actual worker what his earnings were.

I think Mr. Krueger used the term "hourly wages" when he said that it was from 20 cents up. In the cannery situation, that is reduced to an hourly wage proposition, much more so than it is in the field. In the field it really—I would suggest that you state a correction, Mr. Krueger, to be expressed as hourly earnings, rather than hourly rate of wages.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kreuger, did you say the hourly wages range from 20 cents to 35 cents?

Mr. KRUEGER. According to the results of our survey.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, 35 cents an hour, would that be just for ordinary pickers or graders?

Mr. ELDRIDGE. That is the difficulty, Congressman, the price ranges as the services vary. Every farm seems to have a different practice as to what they receive. I think that Mr. Lepper has more knowledge about that.

Mr. LEPPER. They generally pay the picker, that is one on his knees in the field, about 3 cents for a field sack. Now, a field sack runs approximately between 60 and 65 pounds, isn't that right, or nearly 70 pounds? And it takes nearly two field sacks to make one shipping bag, is that right? That is one No. 1 bag of potatoes, after they are graded and culls are taken out and so forth?

Now, most of the farmers seem to pay about 7 cents. In some cases, we have it at 8 cents, but that is for services other than the picking, it is the grading and packing in the bag, culling, and putting on the track. The actual person in the field, though, receives about 3 cents a bag for between 65 and 70 pounds of potatoes.

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder if Major Lepper would care to make an estimate of the average daily earnings of a potato picker in New Jersey, a migrant potato picker?

Mr. LEPPER. It seems to run between $2.40 and $3, as best we could find out, depending entirely upon the individual. In some particular cases we found that these people were working and would work hard. We had one example which probably will give us a little better illustration. It did not mean potato pickers in the case of 400 people that we refer to—one of the farmers nearby employed berry pickers, bean pickers, pea pickers, and workers on several other vegetables, and there were some people put over there on relief work, who were relief people, and they made a complaint that they could not earn $1 a day.

It was no concern of ours and we had nothing to do with it, and we felt that was a problem for the relief agencies to straighten out, but to fortify ourselves in the event that there was an investigation of it, we sent over and made an investigation, and we found that the Italians from Philadelphia could go in there and earn from $3.40 to $4.20 a day, and they worked, but these relief clients, particularly the younger ones, who were sent over there, had the privilege of drawing their money at any time of the day, or any day, and they would go in and earn 35 or 40 cents and go out and buy some ice cream and a bottle of pop and sit under a tree and drink it and spend a couple of hours more out there and then quit for the day.

There was one woman there 74 years of age who was earning an average of $3.62 a day, so you can see that it rests entirely with the individual.

Of course, the potato growers work a little bit differently as to hours. They work from early in the morning to about 11 o'clock, and then they quit and go back again about 4 o'clock and work until sundown, nearly 9 o'clock at night. They don't work in the heat of the day, because of the scalding of the potatoes. I am not a farmer, but I am just telling you what we have been told. The heat will hurt the potatoes.

COMPULSORY TREATMENT FOR VENEREAL DISEASE

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to inquire into a question concerning the health department. In Mr. Krueger's statement he made the remark that those people who were found infected with syphilis in a communicable stage had the opportunity for treatment.

Now, as I understand the New Jersey State law with respect to syphilis, it is mandatory once the State department has noted the presence of communicable syphilis that they receive treatment. They must have treatment.

Mr. MACDONALD. I think the statement was that they had the opportunity for treatment at clinics, if they did not go to private physicians. In other words, they seek treatment where they will. However, if they wish it at public clinics rather than a private physician at their own expense, it will be furnished there, and is available.

Mr. OSMERS. If the migratory worker fails to apply for treatment either at a clinic or private physician, what happens to his case?

Mr. MACDONALD. If he is in a stage of the disease considered communicable, then the local health department may require that he be examined and submit to treatment or submit to quarantine.

Now, that is rather an awkward situation, because they have to have a place to quarantine them.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, I want to ask another question along that line. If you find that one of these migratory workers is infected with syphilis in a communicable stage, and you check your records and find no record of his receiving treatment, and your local health authorities go out to the farm where he has been employed and he is not there, he is removed from the State of New Jersey, and is now in Virginia, or in transit to Florida, does that end your interest in the case or do you forward that information on to the next State?

Mr. MacDonald. As soon as the individual leaves New Jersey, to our knowledge, they at once notify the State health department of the State of destination, or the State at which he says he is residing, presumably he returns there, and we also have been in the practice of forwarding to that State, to that State health department, not only a statement of the results of blood tests and so on, but a statement of the complete series of treatments given the man in New Jersey, so that they can pick it up from that point.

Mr. Osmers. Have you found that the other States carry that on?

Mr. MacDonald. Some do and some do not. We ask, of course, that they advise us whether or not they locate these individuals, if they see fit to do so, and some States have replied that they have found the individual and arranged for his continued treatment, and others have been unable to locate him, and some have said that they do not have the facilities in that particular section of the State to follow them up and therefore the individual probably is lost so far as his diseased condition is concerned.

Mr. Osmers. Would it be a fair statement to say that most of the people who leave the State with communicable diseases do not receive treatment after they leave the State; most of them?

Mr. MacDonald. I have nothing to judge that.

Mr. Osmers. Could you make a guess on what reports you have in the State?

Mr. MacDonald. That is all, and they are not complete, as you can understand. I could not answer that.

The Chairman. Mr. MacDonald, are there any figures obtainable to show it in terms of migrants; that is, people afflicted with venereal diseases, as between Negroes and white people?

Mr. MacDonald. White migrants, we have no figures, because we have not carried on any extensive blood-testing campaign among the Italian families, which constitute the chief group of our white transients coming into Philadelphia. We have not undertaken to do that, and in the potato-growing section, as you appreciate, those migrants are principally colored persons coming directly from the South. That is the group in which we worked last year; we have not any comparable figures for the others.

The Chairman. I understood you to say it ran as high as 33 percent.

Mr. Krueger. In the colored groups.

Mr. Osmers. Isn't that considerably higher than the percentage in the New Jersey colored population?

Mr. MacDonald. Yes.

The Chairman. That is what I was referring to.

Mr. MacDonald. That is much higher than our colored groups, and much higher than the whites, and also considerably higher than the average among New Jersey colored people.

The Chairman. Was there anything else?

Mr. MacDonald. May I just add—inasmuch as you have expressed your interest in that particular point, Mr. Chairman—that the State health department is now, this last week, undertaking a resurvey of this group in just the same way as we did last year, and we also hope to get some figures on incidence of tuberculosis, and would your committee be particularly interested in those figures later?

The CHAIRMAN. We will not close our record against anything that the State of New Jersey desires to present, the true picture of New Jersey.

Mr. MACDONALD. If you are interested——

The CHAIRMAN. We are interested.

CARD REGISTRATION OF MIGRANT LABOR

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we might have just a little more explanation of this card system which seems to have been reasonably successful—how that is operated, the issuance of those cards.

Mr. LEPPER. First of all, we must assume, of course, or work on the theory that in most cases where these Negro migrants are brought into a specific farm at the request of the farm, somebody must be responsible for bringing them in. There is always the road boss, or the foreman, as they are known, and he seems to be the man that brings them in. It does not make very much difference to the farmer whom he gets. He leaves that entirely with the boss, so working on that theory, in this particular case the man said the farmer told us that the man who arranged for his help was a colored man named Rhoades, and he was then near Cape Charles, Va., working there on a certain farm, and that he was going to bring 28 people with him.

The farmer wrote to Rhoades and told Rhoades that he would have to take those 28 people down to the office of the Virginia State Employment Service and register them for employment, and they went to that office and registered, the same as anyone else does that goes through any public employment office. They were immediately given referral cards to this farm about 12 miles outside of Trenton, and an identification card, which is always given to everyone who registers in any of the State employment offices.

The identification cards become their property, and they carry them in their possession at all times, and the referral cards are given to the farmer or to the employer at the time that they report, and then he in turn, when they do report, signs this card, indicating that they have reported. That card is turned over to our representative on this end, and we in turn forward it to Virginia, which completes the whole transaction.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know, Mr. Lepper, these people who had these cards, and were registered in Virginia, and so on did they encounter any difficulties in getting from one State to another?

Mr. LEPPER. No, on the contrary, they were very proud of the fact that they had what they called a "passport," and they were tickled to death with it and the farmer was tickled to death with it, and we were tickled to death with it, and we have a complete record of those people. If there were any police problems or anything else, the complete record is in the file.

Mr. OSMERS. As a matter of practice, Major Lepper, does the potato farmer pay the wages directly to the worker or does he pay the padrone, or the foreman?

Mr. LEPPER. The indications are that the padrone gets the money, and as a matter of fact, when the people that were making this survey asked the question as to what the average person earned, they said, "We do not know. We don't know anything about it. We pay the man and he distributes it."

Mr. OSMERS. I gained the impression while we were in New Jersey, Mr. Chairman, that there was a great deal of difference between the amount of money that the farmer paid out and the amount of money that actually got into the hands of the migrant worker. There was quite a little deficiency along the line there.

NEED OF FEDERAL AID IN EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

There is just one other question that I would also like to ask the witnesses from New Jersey, and this is not necessarily on agricultural workers; whether they feel that the Federal Government should widen their assistance to vocational training schools for, particularly, young migrants that come into the State or may leave our State. Would that be a helpful thing to the State of New Jersey?

Mr. KRUEGER. Unfortunately our representative from the department of education is not present and I do not know whether any of the witnesses here could really answer that.

Mr. OSMERS. On the educational question I was also going to discuss the education problem of some of these seasonal workers that come in, who have children, and are working on these potato farms, and they are shifted all the time. Do they ever get an education?

Mr. KRUEGER. According to the provisions of the revised child-labor law, something will have to be done about that, after September 1, because those children must attend school, and that is going to be a very difficult situation.

Mr. ELDRIGE. I think that that question is well taken. The exact application of the Federal aid has changed on that, and there is a definite field and need for aid to be given to the children of these families, whom now the localities involved feel no great responsibility for, and have no responsibility toward, the academic education of these people.

Mr. OSMERS. There is a shortage in New Jersey of trained skilled workers, a very serious one.

Mr. ELDRIDGE. Yes.

Mr. LEPPER. I probably could contribute something on that thought. At the conference held in Washington, in April, the Pennsylvania Department of Labor reported that a survey of the schools in Philadelphia indicated that 509 children who came from 259 families missed 2 months of the school year with the exception of 2 days, in school at Philadelphia, because of the fact that their families were in south Jersey, in agricultural work, which gives you some idea of that.

Mr. OSMERS. So far as you know, those children did not receive any education in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. LEPPER. No.

LABOR RELATIONS

Mr. OSMERS. Are labor relations, generally, harmonious between the migrant worker and the farmer, or have there been disputes, strikes, and occurrences of that sort, or have they been generally peaceful?

Mr. KRUEGER. Why, I would like to make one statement preparatory to an answer to that.

Legally in New Jersey we have no labor relations board, so officially we do not know. But I imagine that the State police and possibly the employment service, through their travels throughout that particular area, might have something to offer on that.

Major **Schoeffel**. I recall that in 1935 Seabrook Farms had a strike which lasted for a considerable period of time and finally referred to the National Labor Relations Board, and ultimately settled to the satisfaction of both the worker and the farm people.

Mr. **Osmers**. They were not primarly migrant workers?

Major **Schoeffel**. No; and the same thing applied to either Pix or Pax Farms at Cranbury, N. J., where there is a strike in progress right now, and in the past 3 weeks, I believe, most of the workers have returned to their employment, but there are still a few left.

Mr. **Osmers**. Is that migrant workers?

Major **Schoeffel**. I guess the majority of those are workers from the farms of North Carolina and Nebraska, and they stay for a year or two and another group takes their place.

Mr. **MacDonald**. I do not think that those are farm labor.

Mr. **Osmers**. It is migrant labor, though?

Mr. **MacDonald**. Yes.

Major **Shoeffel**. He raises all sorts of things, and he cans them on his own premises.

Mr. **Osmers**. But I would say that that is a fairly good labor record if there are only those two disturbances.

Major **Schoeffel**. There are very few. We have heard this, although I do not know whether I can quote the authority; that is, that the farmers express some fear that the C. I. O. is going to organize the potato pickers in the Jersey section; that is, the migrant labor, and the department checked with the attorney general and we were informed that under the provisions of the Wagner Act, I believe it is, the rules and regulations of the National Labor Relations Board, that unions cannot organize farm labor except in the processing industries, and therefore I think that the thing was dropped, but there may be a move in that direction shortly. I don't know.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask a question. I am particularly interested in the part that these foremen or road bosses or padrones or whatever you call them played, and in the comment that Mr. Osmers made with reference to the spread of the wages as it leaves the owner's pocket, and as it reaches the worker's pocket.

I wonder if, under this plan that you are trying out, if that is extended, some method could not be worked out whereby these padrones or foremen could very largely be eliminated? It seems to me that the employment service of the State could very well pick up the individual worker. If they are going to be registered, see that they are transported to the place where the work is, and let the dealings there be by the employment service with the farmers, thereby eliminating that part of the play or that loss in the wages?

Mr. **Lepper**. There is one thing about them, the applicant knows exactly how much the farmer is going to pay before he leaves Virginia, and now the requisition put through the other day, for the potato workers specifically said 7 cents a sack was the rate of pay, and each one of these people—of the thirty-odd potato growers coming in here, know when they leave Virginia that the farmer is paying 3 cents out of 7 cents a sack.

Mr. **Eldridge.** That desirable result of control and supervision by the agencies would, I feel sure, be greatly hastened if there was some control set up; if there was some control of the activities of these agents.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I think that there would be a gradual elimination of them.

Mr. **Eldridge.** It would hasten the supervision by the State agencies.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Is the State Employment Service partially financed by the Federal Government?

Mr. **Eldridge.** Not partially, almost exclusively.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I thought the State had to contribtue a part.

Mr. **Eldridge.** About 10 percent.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I just wanted to ask this one more question—and this is a rather general question, of Mr. Kreuger or anyone: Do I, or am I, correct in this conclusion; from the statements that have been made here, that it is a recognized fact that there is a migrant labor problem in the State of New Jersey, even though it may not have reached the stage of acuteness that it has in some of the other States of the Union? I think that there is one, either real or anticipated.

Mr. **Krueger.** I think the question itself, as phrased, answers the question, because, as I mentioned in the report, we feel that it is qualitative at the moment, and not quantitative, but we are fearful of consequences if there is an increase in growth.

"PADRONE" SYSTEM

Mr. **Osmers.** There is another question that I would like to ask there before it slips my mind. Major Lepper said that these people knew when they left Virginia or Georgia or wherever they came from, this particular group knew that they were going to receive 7 cents a bag for picking potatoes, and now what are the deductions that are paid from that 7 cents? There is transportation, food, housing, are all of those items deducted from that 7 cents or is that a net income?

Mr. **Lepper.** The padrone furnishes transportation, as a general rule.

Mr. **Osmers.** Who reimburses the padrone for the transportation?

Major **Schoeffel.** I spoke to some of our troopers, and they tell me that the padrone collects the wages of the workers and pays them, and takes his percentage; they don't know just how much, and then charges the worker a certain amount of money for transportation to the place where he is working, and also back to the point of origin when the season is over, and the worker does actually pay the padrone for the transportation.

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, as to the workers' food?

Major **Schoeffel.** He buys that himself, although his transportation is furnished free of charge.

Mr. **Osmers.** In the case of the workers that we all expected to hear on Saturday last, those workers had been there for 2 weeks, and they had not picked a potato, and I presume that they had not received any money. Were they living on accumulated earnings from previous employment?

Major Schoeffel. Oh, no, I imagine that they were living on the padrone's credit. I think so; I don't know.

Mr. Osmers. That would be my guess, too.

HOUSING

Mr. Sparkman. I wonder if any suggestions from the Health Department are used by those people in the building of those barracks and quarters?

Mr. MacDonald. No; most of the barracks that have been constructed have been constructed by the potato farmer, without conference, and in a good many instances, of course, they have utilized an existing building, a barn or wagon house, and put partitions in, and furnishing quarters like that has become more prevalent in the last year or two than it was prior to that time. As the major said, prior to that time we did have some more accumulations of people in camps or groups, but the farmer has appreciated the desirability of furnishing some quarters. Most of those quarters have been furnished by the individual in some way, utilizing a building or a house on the premises, or constructing a temporary barracks such as you saw down there.

Mr. Sparkman. Does the health department inspect them?

Mr. MacDonald. The State health department has not been in a position prior to this time to inspect all of those places, and under our system of health administration in New Jersey, each municipality has its own health department and is supposed to be, and is, theoretically, responsible for basic sanitary conditions in its own municipality. Unfortunately, in a good many of the areas in which the potato farms, for instance, are located, the townships do not have an extensive personnel and have only a very limited personnel in their health boards and have not been doing very much about it.

We have made some inspections on complaints, investigations of these conditions, disease conditions, and so on, and this year are planning to make further investigations of housing conditions such as you saw. And we are also planning to pick up samples of water from wells or sources of supply available, which are, of course, private. In a good many instances the same supply that the farmer uses is also available to the workers and sometimes they have a different supply, depending on where they are located on the farm.

In the last 2 years the State department has been sponsoring a W. P. A. project under which there has been constructed in New Jersey about 20,000 of a standard type of outside toilet, or privy. Those are constructed on farms and on any premises by W. P. A. labor, the cost of all materials being borne by the person in charge of the premises, and in a goodly number of these potato farms and also the vegetable farms, and quite a number of the various bogs, they have taken advantage of that opportunity and we have constructed a lot of those units on those premises.

The Chairman. We have the full membership of our committee here now, Congressman Parsons, of Illinois, having just arrived from the U. S. S. *America*, and in his honor we will take a 5-minute recess.

(Whereupon there was a recess.)

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Osmers. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest before Mr. Krueger leaves the room that he attempt to find out for us and present to the committee some information with respect to the effect of the

New Jersey relief policy upon the interstate migration of destitute citizens.

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Chairman, I will see that that is submitted.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(The following statement was later submitted and entered in the record:)

STATEMENT BY NEW JERSEY STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, SUBMITTED BY WM. H. MACDONALD

New Jersey with its varied agricultural and industrial interests and its strategic location between two large metropolitan centers in other States has attracted to it persons from other States seeking employment.

There are at least three areas of the State to which such persons come seeking work and to which attention has been especially directed from time to time.

(1) The potato raising area made up chiefly of parts of Monmouth, Mercer, and Middlesex Counties.

(2) The oyster-growing and harvesting section, chiefly in Cumberland County.

(3) The vegetable and berry growing and canning sections of Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Salem, and Cumberland Counties.

The persons attracted to the potato-growing section are chiefly adult colored males. This group includes some females and a few children. They come from States south of New Jersey on the eastern seaboard. Their work in the potato harvest extends from sometime in July about to October. The number is in the neighborhood of 4,000. Employment, if available, is not continuous during this period due to fluctuations in the potato market and the weather.

Persons attracted to New Jersey for work in the oyster industry include colored persons from States just south of New Jersey, both adult males and females as well as some children, although adult males predominate. The total is considerably less than the number attracted to the potato-growing section. The usual period of peak employment is from about September 1 to December 1.

In the third area mentioned many of the transient workers seeking employment in vegetable and fruit harvest come from Pennsylvania, and particularly from the city of Philadelphia. This group includes more females and children than the group attracted to the potato area. While we do not have accurate comparative figures, this department feels the number of children in this group is relatively less than 10 years ago. A large proportion of this group is white, many being of Italian birth or stock and include entire families in many instances.

PUBLIC HEALTH PROBLEMS

Communicable diseases, general.—While cases of the communicable diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, etc., to the best of our knowledge, have not occurred in large numbers in any of these groups, some such cases do occur and present difficult problems from the standpoint of isolation in proper quarters. There is no State communicable disease hospital in New Jersey nor is there any county hospital of this type in any of the eight counties mentioned. The city of Trenton in Mercer County and the city of Camden in Camden County, each maintains a contagious disease hospital for its own people. While these institutions may be willing in emergencies to accept cases from outside their respective limits, compensation is of course expected. This is not always forthcoming either from the affected patient nor from the municipality in which the person may be stopping temporarily.

Typhoid fever.—In past years cases of typhoid fever have occurred in transient workers in the vegetable and fruit area. One chronic typhoid carrier was discovered by special investigation and she was placed under supervision by the board of health of her home community after leaving New Jersey.

Venereal diseases.—For a few seasons prior to the summer of 1939, the venereal disease clinic at the city of New Brunswick, Middlesex County, was severely taxed by additional patients from among the migrants to the potato-picking area.

During the potato season of 1939, special activities were instituted by the State health department to discover and have treated cases of syphilis among this group of transient workers.

Three thousand and twenty-one persons were blood tested. Of this number, 2,558 were nonresident Negroes. Their home State usually was located along the South Atlantic seaboard, but workers were found from 18 different States including the States of Nevada and Washington. Florida, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were most frequently represented in the order named.

The table below indicates the number of persons, by age group, color, and the sex of the Negroes tested:

Age group	Total persons tested	Total whites tested	Total Negroes tested	Colored females tested	Colored males tested
0 to 9.9 years	16	0	16	6	10
10 to 14.9 years	129	0	129	53	76
15 to 19.9 years	427	13	414	109	305
20 to 24.9 years	731	15	716	189	527
25 to 29.9 years	601	12	589	162	427
30 to 34.9 years	427	10	417	123	294
35 to 39.9 years	311	7	304	88	216
40 to 49.9 years	267	10	257	64	193
50 years and over	112	6	106	18	88
Total	3,021	73	[1] 2,948	812	2,136

[1] 390 of these were resident Negroes of New Jersey.

The marital status of this group was studied and often several questions were required to ascertain the fact. Only 36.8 percent were married and 48.9 percent were single. The rest were separated, widowed, or divorced. It must be emphasized that over 63 percent considered themselves unmarried and actually many who were here listed as married were on a 6 to 9 months migration while their marital partner either remained at their southern home or joined another migratory group.

As a group, the health of the 2,948 Negroes tested was poor in so far as syphilis was concerned. In terms of serological laboratory reports, 1,028 or 34.9 percent were positive. Of the 2,136 males tested, 32 percent were positive and of the 812 females tested 42 percent were positive. When these data are studied by marital status, we find 22 percent of the single persons having positive blood tests and 40.8 percent for the married, 37 percent for the widowed, and 43 percent for those persons who were separated.

The persons who were found to have a positive or doubtful blood test were examined at three strategically located clinic centers. Many persons migrated within and even outside of the potato area between the time of taking the blood sample and the day when the laboratory reports were available. Thus some of the positive serological cases were lost temporarily or permanently.

However, a total of 786 persons were diagnosed as syphilitic and they were given over 4.300 injections before they left for their homes with patient referral forms indicating the exact nature of their disease and the treatments given to date. It was found that over one-third of the syphilitics diagnosed had infectious stages of the disease. In other words, over 33 percent had acquired their syphilis during the 4 years immediately preceding the time of diagnosis.

Among persons engaged in the oyster industry in Cumberland County arrangements have also been carried out under a State and local cooperative plan for testing blood of this group of workers for evidence of syphilis and providing treatment at low or no cost.

Housing.—In New Jersey, it is by statute the duty of each local board of health to enforce local regulations and the regulations of the State sanitary code in regard to private wells and sources of water supply and in regard to the construction, location and maintenance of privies, cesspools, etc. Most of the municipalities to which the laborers mentioned above are attracted are rural townships. Most of these township boards of health have only limited personnel and do not routinely make inspections of sanitary problems.

In the potato-growing section as described, there are few houses available in which the transient workers can be accommodated. Generally during the summer and early fall months when they are employed in New Jersey, these people find living quarters in buildings not ordinarily used as habitations.

In the oyster-growing area, persons from out of the State are chiefly housed in frame buildings maintained in the section and intended primarily for use by the persons so employed. In these buildings a water supply under pressure is available, toilet facilities of the chemical type are also available.

In the vegetable and berry picking section, most of the persons attracted find living quarters in houses in the general vicinity. On some of the premises at which such labor is employed, temporary living quarters are available in buildings maintained for the purpose. These buildings are not intended for year-round residency.

Special surveys.—During the next few months, the State Health Department is proposing to carry on some special survey work, particularly along the following lines:

(1) To obtain blood to be examined for evidence of syphilis from workers attracted to the potato section of Monmouth, Middlesex, and Mercer Counties. Those found to be affected with syphilis will have an opportunity to receive treatment from clinics established for that purpose if they are unable to pay for treatments privately.

(2) In this same area, to secure information by personal inspection as to the living quarters used by these transient workers and also information about basic sanitation at such quarters, including water supply and method of collection of human wastes.

(3) In the vegetable- and berry-growing section, it is planned to make a cross-section survey to determine in general the housing facilities used by transient laborers coming to this area and, also to obtain information about basic sanitary conditions including water supply and sewage collection and disposal at such premises.

(4) A similar cross-section survey in that part of this general area, limited to Burlington County, was anticipated although we now understand a survey including the information outlined above, is to be made within the next few months by an agency of the Federal Government.

Other groups.—There are, of course, in addition to the three main groups mentioned above several smaller groups of persons attracted to New Jersey temporarily, some of whom may continue to stay in the State. Among such groups may be mentioned a few clammers who are attracted to the shore of Barnegat Bay during the clamming season and who live in houseboats or summer shacks along the bayshore.

(Letter and statement, submitted later, by Arthur Mudd, deputy director, municipal aid administration, State of New Jersey:)

State of New Jersey Municipal Aid Administration,
Trenton, N. J., September 9, 1940.

Hon. John H. Tolan,
Chairman, Special Committee Investigating
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
146 Grand Street, New York City, N. Y.

My Dear Congressman: I regret that I was on vacation when your Federal committee toured New Jersey.

One of the agreements by the members of the Conference of New Jersey Departments on Migratory Labor was that each man give free expression to his views.

There is no doubt that the presence of migratory labor in New Jersey at certain seasons of the year has an effect on our relief rolls as these people working at substandard wages take jobs that would otherwise be available for relief recipients. On the other hand, one of our relief regulations in this State is that earnings of members of a relief family shall be applied against the family's budget in determining the amount of relief to be given. Also, it should be borne in mind that a great many persons on relief are unaccustomed to "stoop labor".

The problem is a complex one, not only from a relief standpoint but from a health and police standpoint. Undoubtedly, you have been informed on these two latter points in data and material already submitted to you.

Frankly, it is my belief that New Jersey's relief rolls could be reduced if migrant labor could be eliminated or more attractive wages paid in agricultural occupations. We do know that persons are available for farm labor both in the city of Camden and in the city of Trenton.

I attach hereto copy of a letter from Miss Helen McCormack, relief director in the city of Trenton, written August 22, 1940, also copy of my letter to Mr. Krueger of August 8.

The problem of migrant labor in New Jersey is nothing new as I recall discussions on the subject in 1934 and 1935 when I was treasurer of the former State Emergency Relief Administration.

Sometime ago, while I was director of the State financial assistance commission, I circularized our local relief directors and from the replies I quote as follows:

Ventnor City, Atlantic County: "I have no knowledge of any of our people having the opportunity to work on farms, we nevertheless have migratory labor. There is no doubt what little employment is available in summer is affected by an influx from outside the State. Always there are young men and women in Atlantic City who could get work in hotels if it were not for vacationing school teachers from different States."

Middle Township, Cape May County: "The majority of the farm labor of this municipality has not been able to find sufficient employment with wages that would be sufficient to meet a standard living condition for a period of years (average wage for farm labor, $1.50 to $2 per day). Younger generation has found it necessary to turn to other types of employment. Much of employment available during summer, taken up by a type of migratory labor which develops out of schools and colleges. Either students or teachers willing to work for small wages and defray the expense of a summer vacation."

Bloomfield Town, Essex County: "Does not have any effect in our particular community."

Princeton Township, Mercer County: "This Township is threatened with increasing trouble on account of migratory labor in outlying districts. I feel that it is urgent that steps be taken immediately to curb what I believe to be a real menace to the State. If migratory labor were not available, or if there were some minimum wage law, the farmers would be forced to pay decent wages and could then employ local help."

Dunellen Borough, Middlesex County: "Not affected by the farm labor situation."

Island Beach Borough, Ocean County: "Many applicants at this time of year to set up fishing, crabbing, and clamming establishments. Some of these are transients from Florida, some temporarily unemployed, and some high school students. They have a very disrupted effect on local industries. They must undersell the local and permanent fishermen, thereby ruining the market and depriving them from earning a livable income. In many cases, it is not the urge of making a living but merely for pin money."

Penns Grove Borough, Salem County: "Migratory labor question does not worry us. Employment Bureau operated in connection with relief. It has been a great help in keeping our relief expenditures down."

Lyndhurt, Bergen County: "We have no migratory labor or farm labor to reflect on our relief rolls."

Hillside Township, Union County: "Our relief rolls are not affected in any way by migratory labor."

Commercial Township, Cumberland County: "The importation of farm labor in Commercial Township has not affected our relief rolls."

South Toms River, Ocean County: "This municipality is no way affected by farm labor conditions."

Salem City, Salem County: "In answer to your bulletin of June 6, yes, we have a migratory problem. It affects our relief problem. We do know, however, that there is an influx of laborers, mostly colored, from the Southern States every spring. We have learned that they do secure employment on farms usually at a very low wage thereby interfering with our employables but we are not able to learn just the exact number.

"We also know that most of these do not return to their respective States in the fall but stay here and exist somehow. Some do apply for relief but we inform them that unless they are willing to be returned we cannot extend relief. Usually they do not want to be returned.

"Yes, some of our employable relief recipients have refused to accept agricultural employment usually the reason being long hours, low pay, or account of transportation if married getting to and from farms. In such cases as soon as we learn of this we discontinue relief."

After attending a number of meetings of the Conference of New Jersey Departments on Migratory Labor and State conferences in Baltimore and Washington, D. C., it is the writer's opinion that the States cannot singly or a few of them as a group solve the problem (if it can be solved). It would therefore seem that a Federal white-collar project for fact finding is the first and primary requisite to be followed by suitable congressional legislation.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR MUDD, *Deputy Director, Municipal Aid Administration.*

AUGUST 8, 1940.

Mr. C. GEORGE KRUEGER,
Deputy Commissioner of Labor, Trenton, N. J.

DEAR GEORGE: I had a rather interesting experience last evening. While walking on Clinton Avenue near the railroad station, I was approached by a colored man who asked me for 4 cents to help him buy some bread. He showed me a tag of King's Farm Co., Morrisville, laid out in squares evidently intended to be punched for production.

The Negro said that a colored row boss brought 33 colored men from Brooklyn to pick beans at the King farm. The peculiar part is that they sleep in Trenton somewhere back of the ice house near the Penn Station and are trucked back and forth daily to Morrisville. The man said that bean picking was not very good on account of the dry weather and that he had earned nothing so far.

He also told me that his family was on relief in Brooklyn; besides wife and self, he had five daughters. He seemed to be pleased that they were getting cash relief and said that his earnings, if any, would be in addition. In other words, the relief department in Brooklyn does not do what the relief departments do in New Jersey in taking into consideration the income in the family. He said that unless they made $12 a week, nothing was done about it. He also smilingly advised that they wouldn't tell about their income.

The whole thing seems odd in view of the fact that Trenton must have persons on relief available for this kind of work. I interrupted this memorandum by a talk with Miss Helen McCormack, Trenton relief director, and I got some very interesting facts from her regarding not only the King farm but the Starkey farm also which she visited recently. I have asked Miss McCormick to write a memorandum covering what she told me over the phone and I will send you a copy just as soon as I receive it.

After talking with her, I somewhat question the colored man's veracity. Miss McCormack did, however, say that the King's farm people made no mention of pickers coming down from Brooklyn.

Very truly yours,

ARTHUR MUDD,
Deputy Director, Municipal Aid Administration.

CITY OF TRENTON, N. J., *August 22, 1940.*

MR. ARTHUR MUDD,
Deputy Director, Municipal Aid Administration,
Trenton, N. J.

DEAR MR. MUDD: As per your request relative to our findings regarding the Starkey and King farms would state that I visited both these farms accompanied by one of the supervisors in this department, spending about 2 hours at each point, during which time we saw the actual persons performing the duties such as bean picking and other seasonal work.

On the Starkey farms the day we visited there were about 1,100 persons engaged in this work. At the Kings farms there were between 800 and 900. We were informed by foremen on each farm that many persons earned as high as $4.50 per day, however, explaining that this would not continue for each day as sometimes the crops were not as productive and the second and third picking would limit the earnings to some degree. However, one foreman stated that at the present time there was a Polish woman 74 years of age who was picking beans on Kings farms, and had been for several years past, and there was scarcely ever a day that she did not earn between $2 and $2.50.

When we reached each one of the farms we seemed to be recognized by many persons engaged in picking beans, as we could distinctly hear the word being passed from one to another, "There are relief investigators." I cannot help but feel that many persons on the relief rolls are engaged in bean picking and making no report relative to their earnings, while there are many additional ones on relief who refuse to do this work because of lack of ambition.

Trusting that the above information is what you desired, I am

Sincerely yours,

HELEN R. MCCORMACK,
Supervisor of Welfare.

TESTIMONY OF JOSE M. VIVALDI, CHIEF OF THE PUERTO RICO DEPARTMENT OF LABOR OFFICE, NEW YORK CITY

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name, please, and in what capacity you appear here, your occupation?

Mr. VIVALDI. I am in charge of the Puerto Rico Department of Labor office in New York. It is an employment service.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you represent, the Puerto Rican Government, or the Federal Government?

Mr. VIVALDI. The Puerto Rican Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement there that you desire to make?

MOVEMENT OF PUERTO RICANS TO NEW YORK

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes, sir; the movement of Puerto Ricans to New York.

Puerto Ricans have been coming to New York since 1898 after the Spanish-American War, but the real migratory movement began soon after recovery from the depression of 1921 and continued throughout the years up to 1930. During the worst years of the depression (1931–33) arrivals were reduced and many Puerto Ricans went back to the island.

Since 1934 the movement to the mainland has increased steadily again.

The motivating force of the movement was, at the beginning, the reported abundance of employment and high wages prevailing in New York City. Lately, it has been the precarious economic condition of a great number of people in Puerto Rico and the natural desire of those already established in New York to bring their families to live with them and profit by many advantages and opportunities of which they were deprived in Puerto Rico.

At best, the migration of the Puerto Rican worker to New York is only a partial solution to his problem. He is a newcomer in the labor market, has little skill or industrial training, and suffers a language handicap, which prevents him from securing employment and benefit from the high wages he was told were prevalent in New York City.

Especially those who have come throughout the depression years have suffered enormously, and a large number of them are on relief and will be on relief for a long time to come. Nevertheless, they are not willing to go back, because they know that it will be impossible for them to make a living on the island.

Conditions are such in Puerto Rico, that it is imperative for a large number of people to move to the mainland, regardless of the difficulties that they will encounter.

Puerto Rico is an agricultural country and there you have very near 2,000,000 people in an area of 3,500 square miles. The best land is controlled by big corporations, which give work only to a comparatively small number of workers for 5 or 6 months during the year.

There is no direct relief in the island to take care of the unemployed, no unemployment insurance, and the work relief, under the present set-up, does not absorb one-third of those who are unemployed and in dire need of assistance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are several ways by which this problem can be attacked Among those of paramount importance are the breaking up of the large concentration of land holdings, the industrialization of the island, extension of the Social Security Act, and the establishment of a system of vocational guidance and practical training for those who wish to come to New York to make a living.

NUMBER OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS

The CHAIRMAN. Starting at the right, Congressman Curtis, have you any questions?

Mr. CURTIS. How many Puerto Ricans do you estimate are living in and around New York now?

Mr. VIVALDI. It is only an estimate, about 100,000.

The CHAIRMAN. About 100,000?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes. That is only an estimate.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the State of New York?

Mr. VIVALDI. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. You have 100,000 here?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. City and vicinity?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they all out in Coney Island yesterday?

Mr. VIVALDI. Maybe so.

Mr. CURTIS. Has the population of Puerto Rico been on a steady increase?

Mr. VIVALDI. Oh, yes; very high increase.

Mr. CURTIS. You say industrialization of the island. What particular possibilities were you referring to?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, I mean to have new industries and to develop those native industries—the small industries. They are unable to give help to the people; they are too small.

Mr. CURTIS. I am not familiar with the island. What possibilities are there? What industries are you referring to?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, the small factories of different kinds, clothing factories, small ones, small factories, that can be developed if they have an opportunity. They should have the money and the proper conditions to develop them.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else, Mr. Parsons?

Mr. PARSONS. You say about 100,000. Is that the principal number of Puerto Ricans that have come to the United States since 1898?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you born in this country or did you come to this country?

Mr. VIVALDI. I came about 15 years ago.

Mr. PARSONS. What were the conditions there prior to 1898 when the migration started to the United States, before we took over Puerto Rico?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, the conditions down there were not so bad, because the land was divided into small farms, and, of course, the population was much smaller. It was only about 1,200,000, something like that.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the birth rate in Puerto Rico?

Mr. VIVALDI. I don't know. I don't have that information.

EFFECT OF LANDED CORPORATIONS ON PUERTO RICAN FARMERS

Mr. PARSONS. Well, what has happened since it came under the jurisdiction of the United States that has made the landed corporations there? Why have not the people retained their small farms, which you say existed prior to that time?

Mr. VIVALDI. What happened was this: The land was divided into small farms, and when the great corporations went down there and they offered plenty of money for the land, people were willing to sell, because they were not making much money, and, of course, they thought that they were going to make a good business with that money.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, have the landed estates increased any more in Puerto Rico than they have in our States of the Union here? There has been quite a movement beginning with the World War period, when agricultural commodities were high, to create large ranches and landed estates in the several States of the Union. Is it worse in Puerto Rico than here on the mainland?

Mr. VIVALDI. I think it is because Puerto Rico is a small island, a very small island, and, of course, the concentration of land affects the people more than in a large country like this. This country has many different industries, and it is in a different condition.

Mr. PARSONS. Your people have come here, probably, principally because they thought that they could get a very high wage, and live at about the same standard that they lived in Puerto Rico, outside of maybe heat, and a few things like that, that are not necessary in Puerto Rico. Now, they have been rather disillusioned since they came here, have they not?

Mr. VIVALDI. They have been in the last 10 years, but not before that. Before that they came here and they found work right away, and they started their living in a better condition than down there in Puerto Rico, up to the depression.

WAGE RATES IN PUERTO RICO

Mr. PARSONS. What are the average wages in Puerto Rico; agricultural wages?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, the average is about 75 cents a day.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. VIVALDI. Seventy-five cents a day.

Mr. PARSONS. What are the industrial wages? I understand that you have several little textile or clothing factories, mostly done by hand work or by piece work in the home. How is that handled?

Mr. VIVALDI. That is very, very low, $2 or $3 a week and up to $6 or $7 in the factory; maybe $12 in highly specialized work.

Mr. PARSONS. The population has grown in the last 40 years from about 1,200,000, you say, to approximately 2,000,000?

Mr. VIVALDI. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. How was the increase the 40 years prior to that?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, it was less than that.

Mr. CURTIS. Has sanitation and increased medical facilities been responsible for part of the increase in population?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Less death of infants, and that sort of thing?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Have there been any factories, or any factories operated there in the last decade, that employed more people, in Puerto Rico?

Mr. VIVALDI. Some small factories, I would say.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any figures to indicate the number of people coming from Puerto Rico over to this country, for the entire country?

Mr. VIVALDI. There are no figures about that, because you can't get those figures anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that you have 100,000 in New York. It probably is not as great in other parts of the country. Do they all come to New York?

Mr. VIVALDI. All of them come to New York. It is easy to come here, and they have friends and families here, and it is very easy to come here instead of going somewhere else.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Vivaldi, I notice in your statement you said that there was no direct relief in the island, no unemployment insurance. Why are those features not available?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, there is no direct relief, because, as I understand the problem, it is too big for the local government to attempt to give relief. Of course, relief is a local matter.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, now, it is a matter of local participation, is it not? The Federal Government does make some funds available provided the local government participates?

Mr. VIVALDI. For work relief. The Federal Government gives money for work relief only.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the unemployment insurance? Is that participation local, and Federal participation?

Mr. VIVALDI. No; the Social Security Act has not been extended to Puerto Rico, and we do not have unemployment insurance, and that is one of the features of the Social Security Act that we do not have down there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It does not apply to Puerto Rico?

Mr. VIVALDI. No.

WAGES AND HOURS LAW IN PUERTO RICO

Mr. CURTIS. Does the wages-and-hours law apply?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The wages-and-hours law was modified to make special provision for Puerto Rico, was it not?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Vivaldi, I would like to ask you whether, in your opinion, the application of the wages-and-hours law to the island of Puerto Rico has contributed to the migration of the citizens from Puerto Rico to the United States?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, I think yes; but it has been so recent that I do not know exactly the extent of it.

Mr. OSMERS. It is my understanding, and I would like to get your view on it, that by increasing the basic wages in Puerto Rico, through the application of the wages-and-hours law, we have thrown your entire industry out of balance down there, and it has made it impossible for many of them to continue?

Mr. VIVALDI. That was especially in the needlework industry. They were paying only 4 or 5 cents an hour, and it jumped to 25 cents, and it was too big a jump.

Mr. OSMERS. You made a statement before in reply to a question by Congressman Parsons that the industrial wages paid in the island were somewhere around $2 a week or $6 a week?

Mr. VIVALDI. In the needlework industry, and all of the small factories.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, that cannot exist under the wages-and-hours law?

Mr. VIVALDI. No; it cannot.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, does it?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, they have been wiped out; most of it has been wiped out. They are just starting again with the provision; with the amendment made to the wages and hours law, they are trying to start again.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the average route taken by a person coming here from Puerto Rico? Does he go to a Southern State and work his way up the coast to New York or does he come directly to New York from Puerto Rico?

Mr. VIVALDI. He comes direct to New York.

Mr. PARSONS. And when he gets here, what is the nature of the employment that he seeks when he gets here? What does he try to do? How does he make his living?

Mr. VIVALDI. He tries to find any kind of employment.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the kind that he usually does find?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, they have restaurant and hotel work, and factory work.

Mr. PARSONS. Do any considerable number from Puerto Rico go out in the country and enter into agricultural pursuits when they come here?

Mr. VIVALDI. No.

Mr. PARSONS. They do not?

Mr. VIVALDI. No.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the financial condition of the average Puerto Rican who has come to this country? Are they prosperous, or are a great many of them on relief?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, we have to make a division on that. People who came before the depression you could call prosperous. Many of them made some money and went into business, and into many businesses here; but after 1930, those people who have been coming here have been in very bad condition.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you say that the fact that there is such a great centralization of ownership in Puerto Rico of the land and resources—and of the sugar industry, to take that as one that that has contributed a great deal to the unfortunate economic condition there—that that has driven many of them to the United States?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You would say that?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all that I have.

Mr. CURTIS. I have one more question, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Mr. CURTIS. In reference to the wages paid there, are you familiar with the cost of living in Puerto Rico? Is that relatively lower?

Mr. VIVALDI. It is lower, but the standard of living down there of the great masses is very bad.

Mr. CURTIS. The same amount of food purchased in Puerto Rico, would that be as expensive as that much food purchased in the United States?

Mr. VIVALDI. No; it is not.

Mr. CURTIS. How about clothing?

Mr. VIVALDI. Clothing is about the same. Of course, they do not need so much clothing down there and they do not need so much food to maintain themselves. People can live with less over there.

Mr. CURTIS. And while there should be an increase of wages to a certain extent, it would not necessarily require the same amount as the United States or relieve their condition considerably?

Mr. VIVALDI. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. And since the wages-and-hours bill was passed, is there a disposition for the population to do this work in their homes and then sell to the factories their own individual product, in which the wages and hours would not govern?

Mr. VIVALDI. I did not get you very well.

Mr. PARSONS. Has there been a disposition since the wages-and-hours bill was passed for the individual families to do the needle and piece work and then sell their product to the factory?

Mr. VIVALDI. Not exactly sell the product, for they work at the factory.

Mr. PARSONS. Before the wages-and-hours bill, I understand, there were hundreds and thousands of them that did the work in their own homes, but the material was furnished by the factories?

Mr. VIVALDI. Exactly.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, is there any disposition for them to evade the wages and hours law by purchasing the material and doing the same work at home, and then selling it back to the factory?

Mr. VIVALDI. Not that I know of.

Mr. PARSONS. The individual family, of course, would not come under the wages-and-hours law?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, they would——

Mr. PARSONS. They would not if they bought the material and made the product, and then sold it back to the factory.

Mr. VIVALDI. That is a problem. Those people who do that kind of work are not in a position to buy the material and sell their product.

Mr. PARSONS. There is no disposition on the part of the factory owners to give them credit to evade the wages and hours law, in that respect?

Mr. VIVALDI. Well, I don't know, exactly. I don't think so.

Mr. PARSONS. You have not been down in the island lately?

Mr. VIVALDI. No; I have not.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, what recommendation do you make to remedy this situation? Would you stop further immigration to the mainland? Do you have any specific recommendations to make to this committee as to how the problem might be remedied?

Mr. Vivaldi. I would not. I do not think that it could be stopped. It would be impossible to stop the migration to the mainland, because of the conditions down there. The only thing is that, by bettering the conditions down there in Puerto Rico, it will decline.

Mr. Parsons. Would you recommend breaking up the landed estates there? You say that that is one of the causes of the condition.

Mr. Vivaldi. Well, it has been approved now by the Supreme Court, the limitation of land. There was a law and it has not been enforced for a long time, and now they tried to enforce that law; that is, a limitation of 500 acres, and I think that they are going to do it now, and that will be a great help.

Mr. Parsons. To what extent will that relieve the situation?

Mr. Vivaldi. Well, it will relieve the situation because instead of being owned by a small group of people, the land will be divided among more people.

Mr. Parsons. Will that create any higher standard of living for the workers, now, who do not own land; if they have an opportunity to purchase land?

Mr. Vivaldi. I believe so.

Mr. Parsons. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Mr. Vivaldi.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF FLORENTINO IRIZARRY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Chairman. Will you give your name to the reporter?

Mr. Irizarry. Florentino Irizarry.

The Chairman. Where do you live?

Mr. Irizarry. 1576 Lexington Ave.

The Chairman. How old are you?

Mr. Irizarry. Thirty-seven years old.

The Chairman. Are you married?

Mr. Irizarry. Married.

The Chairman. How long have you been in this country?

Mr. Irizarry. Twenty-one years.

The Chairman. You came straight from Puerto Rico?

Mr. Irizarry. Straight from Puerto Rico.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION FROM PUERTO RICO

The Chairman. Well, tell us about when you came here, what did you do?

Mr. Irizarry. In 1919 I was pretty near 17 years old and I had finished my public-school education in a small town in the center of the island, and I don't know how I got the notion that I wanted to further my education. It had come to a standstill there with the eighth grade, so I decided—I said that I don't know where I got the notion but I got it—so that I decided to work over there, save some money, and buy my way to New York City, which I did, and I landed here in May of 1919.

Mr. Parsons. What did you work at to make that money?

Mr. Irizarry. I worked there in a general store, as a clerk.

Mr. Parsons. What were your wages there?

Mr. Irizarry. My wages there were $8 a month, working 11 hours a day.

Mr. PARSONS. Anything furnished you in the way of food?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Meals, of course.

Mr. PARSONS. No home or house rent?

Mr. IRIZARRY. No lodging of any sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

WORK HISTORY IN NEW YORK

Mr. IRIZARRY. When I came to New York City I found myself in a strange environment. That is to say, I had realized that I had a language handicap in the first place, my education of the eighth grade being just enough to give me a notion about common ordinary words, but not sufficient to carry on a conversation with anybody.

Since my notion in coming here was primarily to further my education I began to cast around for a suitable school, but I could not find it, and then my notion of school disappeared for awhile and I got a job as a porter and general utility man in a hotel here.

That employment I kept from 1919 to 1921.

In 1921 we had a depression here and I was laid off my job.

I took the opportunity then to go back to the island and see my folks, and investigate conditions there, and I stayed there for about 7 months and I tried to get some sort of a job.

In the meantime, here, I had studied through a correspondence school, and I thought I would be able to be a teacher in a school down there in a small town, but I failed. Therefore, 7 months afterward, I again came to New York City, and again I became a hotel porter in a different hotel. I worked there until 1924.

Then, in 1926, I found my way to high school, from which I graduated in 1930.

In the meantime, finding that my hotel work conflicted with my education, I decided to save some money and go in a business of my own. Accordingly I opened up a small grocery store of my own and stayed there, in the meantime furthering my education.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that grocery store?

Mr. IRIZARRY. It was at 209 East One Hundred and Second Street, New York City.

Then I stayed in business, on and off; that is to say, I established myself twice, and between 1924 and 1935 I worked in grocery stores either at my own business or as somebody else's clerk. My own store I lost through robbery—I had two consecutive robberies in 1 week, and that put me out of business.

Mr. PARSONS. Right there, how much did you lose in each of those robberies? Was it the stock of goods, or cash?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I went into that business primarily to get $500 in order to go through law school, and it seemed to me that if I could double up that money I could not only go through law school but have some funds left. I put up the store and everything went well, but then one night a policeman came to my house and told me that the store had been broken into and when I went there my total stock of $625 of Spanish oils and a species of chocolate of export trade had been cleared away.

Then, well, I tried to get along just as I could and 2 days later—the first robbery was in front of the store—and then 2 days later they broke through the back of the store and they cleaned away something like some additional $225 in beans, rice, and other goods of the trade.

Mr. PARSONS. Most of your trade came out of Puerto Rican people?

RELIEF RECORD

Mr. IRIZARRY. Puerto Rican people; yes. So that put an end to my legal career and me out of business, too, and then, because times were very bad, I could not get any credit to continue so I decided to give up in desperation, and after that—well, after that I had to go into relief.

I had already completed something like 90 points of college work, but in spite of this preparation I could not get anything else but pick and shovel work, and I worked 2½ years as a laborer, that is, 1 year first on relief and afterward they put me as a laborer and there I worked for 2½ years.

Mr. PARSONS. On W. P. A.?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Yes. After 2½ years I began to get sick and tired of the job and I began to cast around and use some pressure and finally I was put in as a teacher of English for the foreign-born, and there I worked for 2 years, until August of 1939, when I was let go on account of the 18-month law.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you use the pressure on?

Mr. IRIZARRY. To be exact, I was in college and I had been doing very well, but my professors noticed that I was not doing so well after working 2 years as a laborer. I was absent too many times and my work was bad and my marks were worse, so one day my Latin professor asked me, "What is the matter with you? Look, you have a splendid record, and here all of a sudden you are sinking down," and so well, then I told him the story of how I had to go out and work and travel to school 2½ hours, and I was not getting sufficient food and things like that so he gave me a letter, and he went to the Spanish Department to get another letter of recommendation.

In all, I got about four letters of recommendation, so I came down to the W. P. A. offices, and in a week's time I found myself a teacher. I had the educational qualifications, however.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I interject there? It was not so much pressure that you used, it was simply calling to their attention the fact that you were qualified?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I should not say "pressure"; what I mean to say is that when I went there and asked for a job, although they were employing people as teachers, with only high school and 2 years of undergraduate work at that time, then a man interviewed me who said he could not give me a class unless I had a degree.

Now, I did not report that to some responsible agency because somehow or other I was out of contact with the workaday world. When a man does what I did—for 15 years I have known nothing but books, books, and odd jobs, in order to support myself.

Naturally, when a man in my position is confronted with a practical problem he is a failure, and that is what happened to me.

Well, when I was told that I could not get a clerk's or a teacher's job, I asked for a W. P. A. laboring job, so that when I said I used pressure, I meant that I had to resort to something other than my own personal qualifications and my ability. So it is my belief that I sit here as a representative of the Puerto Rican who came here in the early wave of 1919, and probably not so much to get away from Puerto Rico as to satisfy a longing for educational opportunities. At the age of 16—my father had a piece of land—and I had not worked in my life, and did not know what life was like, but I was more of the visionary, of the dreamer type. And so I came here, because first of all knowledge in itself was seductive to my mind and there was lurking in my mind the idea that, if a man was hardworking and willing and capable, somehow or other there must be a way for him in life, either in Puerto Rico or New York City.

Well, so you see, that lurked in my mind; but primarily I came here to seek an education and to work, but I did not come here because I was bad off over there. Then I had no consciousness of what being well-off in life meant. And I came here to work for the first time in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you doing now?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I am not doing anything, that is, since I left W. P. A. I have been trying to establish a private teaching business; that is to say, teaching both English to the foreign-born and Spanish to the Americans, but I have not been able to make anything out of it.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been unemployed?

Mr. IRIZARRY. One year.

REASONS FOR PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell in a few brief words what causes the Puerto Ricans to migrate to this country?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Well, that problem will have to be subdivided in three divisions.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't subdivide it too much.

Mr. IRIZARRY. All right. Of course it would be an injustice to say that the Puerto Rican comes here for anything but the fundamental problem that has caused man to migrate throughout the ages. We come here because Puerto Rico does not afford the opportunities for working and developing a fuller life such as a man conceives he is born for.

We have 29 high schools in Puerto Rico, teaching us what the larger and fuller life means in European civilization; that is, we have a concept of what life should be, and then we find that it is not that. We want work and can't get it. We find that the small island is in the hands of two or three centralized corporations, whose only ideal in life seems to be profit, regardless of human welfare, and we are confronted with the problem that we either get away from the island or we starve there—or well, yes, practically starve. In the great majority of cases, we get out or starve.

Now, the Puerto Rican is naturally a lover of his own native land and I am quite sure in my contacts here with the Puerto Rican element, and in my own personal experience, we know that we create a problem here in New York City. For example, we know that through language handicaps, through race, through different cultural traditions, we are not an assimilable element, and we know that as conditions are today we are distinctly a problem for the city, and for its welfare organizations.

We know that in many cases we are looked down upon, we know that in many more cases we are not wanted, and we know, too, that we have a piece of land of our own that we love, you see, and we prefer to stay here rather than go there; and why? Because we are responding to the elemental urges of human nature; that is, food, primarily, and then of course all the other corollaries of human life.

Take the problem, for example, of education.

Now, in Puerto Rico education is free and it is not. It is true that we have 29 high schools in the island but if a student finishes public school and then he wants to get a high school education, well, in the first place, he has to pay for his books, and secondly the number admitted is very limited because they have not the facilities, so that the whole problem boils down to this: That unless one belongs to the middle class of people, to the people who have anything, any standing in life, you are not going to get your high school education.

And as for college opportunities, well they are nonexistent. That is to say, we have a university and a college but of course those are paying institutions and are only for the "toppers," but take a man like me—today I have a B. A., completed in 1939 in the College of the City of New York, and I am now working for my master's, and now that could not have been done in Puerto Rico, and well, you see, then, why I am here.

Mr. OSMERS. May I ask you, what do you live on at the present time?

Mr. IRIZARRY. At the present time, I am conducting classes, private classes in both Spanish and English.

Mr. OSMERS. What income does that give you?

Mr. IRIZARRY. It is variable. When I started a year ago I was fortunate enough to get it up to 19 people, that is $1 a week each, and now it has dwindled down to about six.

Mr. OSMERS. Can you live on $6 a week in New York?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Well, I should not say that I am living on that now. You see, I have been working up to a year ago, and I have been trying very hard to get away from the home relief and W. P. A., but it seems to me it will be practically impossible.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you receive home relief today?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I do not, but I think that I shall have to apply very soon.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have savings laid aside that you use to augment your $6 a week?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Well, that was practically negligible. Those were exhausted long ago.

Mr. OSMERS. I am still trying to find out how you can live in New York on $6 a week?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Well, it seems incredible but that is the actual thing.

Mr. OSMERS. You are living on $6 a week?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me what is the general condition among the Puerto Rican people in the city of New York, and what you know of them today, in the United States?

PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITION OF PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK

Mr. IRIZARRY. The condition of the Puerto Ricans in the city of New York today? You mean economically?

Economically, it is absolutely desperate. That is to say, most of us are living off relief and W. P. A., and as long as we have that we are going to eat, but when that is taken away from us, we don't know where the next meal is coming from. Now, of course I said we are living, you see, and when I said "desperate" it means that none of us, or rather, a limited number of us, have any jobs in private industry, a very limited number; and the rest of the people are just being taken care of by the city, and as far as that goes, that is all the means of a livelihood that we have. That is, this applies to the great majority.

Mr. OSMERS. You said that there are very few of them that are employed in private industry?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I said, yes; relatively speaking, that is right.

LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Mr. OSMERS. Now, tell me, are the Puerto Ricans who are in New York City today, who are on relief trained, or prepared, or educated to perform any kind of labor other than that of the most menial kind?

Mr. IRIZARRY. No, I should say that they are not. They are not prepared. You see one of our handicaps is precisely that, lack of vocational training.

Mr. OSMERS. That is what I wanted to point out and to get into the record.

Mr. IRIZARRY. Very decidedly, that is our handicap.

Mr. OSMERS. Is the city of New York, or the Federal Government, or the State department of New York State making available to the unemployed Puerto Ricans in New York any opportunities for vocational training?

Mr. IRIZARRY. No, I should say not. As a matter of fact, I was a teacher in the W. P. A.

In the past 4 or 5 years the Federal Government has been making a decided effort to rehabilitate precisely that type of family. But it was my experience that these schools were concentrated in the better class of neighborhoods, and to my astonishment, these schools were not to be found, for example, in the Harlem section where the Puerto Rican population is centered. As far as I understand, all they will worry about is the problem of language. All of their worry was whether the Puerto Rican spoke English or not, but apparently the vocational training did not make any difference.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that the W. P. A. school program as it is established here was of no use to the pupils of those schools as a means to assist them to make a living?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Decidedly not.

Mr. OSMERS. They are of no use?

Mr. IRIZARRY. No use at all.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. It has been my impression that these schools concentrate mainly upon the teaching of cultural subjects.

Mr. IRIZARRY. Well, I would say—I would not say that.

Mr. OSMERS. You would not say that?

Mr. IRIZARRY. No; of course, the emphasis was placed there because it partook so much of the nature of Americanization; the emphasis was in English classes but they had a good slice of vocational training, too, because in the schools where I taught there were definite programs calculated to rehabilitate people and make them useful in industry, so I would not say that it was one-sided.

UNADVISABLE TO RETURN PUERTO RICANS TO ISLAND

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, in your opinion, would you say that a majority of those Puerto Ricans residing in New York City, would you say they were better off here or would you say that they were better off in Puerto Rico?

Mr. **Irizarry.** Better off here, in the long run. The fact is that they are here precisely because they think so, and in the long run they will be better off here.

Mr. **Osmers.** I was going to ask this question: Would the Federal Government or the government of the city of New York be wise in providing transportation for these people to go back to Puerto Rico if they wanted to?

Mr. **Irizarry.** It would not be acceptable, as conditions are over there, it would not be acceptable. You could not get them to go, not unless in very abnormal cases. Now, for example, a person finds himself without a job and no family to take care of him, and then he has not established his residence here; therefore he would not want to stay.

Mr. **Osmers.** I am referring to those who are residents of the State of New York.

Mr. **Irizarry.** Normally they would not.

Mr. **Osmers.** In the last 10 years, could you tell me in terms of percentage how much of your time during the last 10 years has been spent as a recipient of public assistance of one form or another?

Mr. **Irizarry.** The last 10 years? Exactly 5 years.

Mr. **Osmers.** In other words, half of the last 10 years of your life you have existed through public assistance of one form or another?

Mr. **Irizarry.** Exactly.

Mr. **Curtis.** Just one question. If general economic conditions would so improve, and industry was opened up, would your people have any difficulty in getting along?

Mr. **Irizarry.** Here in New York City?

Mr. **Curtis.** Here in the United States.

Mr. **Irizarry.** They would not have any difficulty.

Mr. **Curtis.** So your lot is along with millions of other Americans?

Mr. **Irizarry.** We are victims of the economic crisis, that is all, you see.

Mr. **Osmers** Would you say that because of the economic conditions that have prevailed over the last 10 years, that there is a feeling among either the Puerto Rican population or the general population that is on relief in this city, that our form of government is inadequate?

Mr. **Irizarry.** Your form of government here?

Mr. **Osmers.** In the United States?

Mr. **Irizarry.** Oh, no. All Puerto Ricans that have any consciousness of civil responsibilities are quite agreed that your form of government is the best to be had in the world, all over. However, they have not the same reaction as to the form of government in Puerto Rico.

Mr. **Osmers.** They have not?

Mr. **Irizarry.** No.

Mr. **Parsons.** You made mention that you had no local relief in Puerto Rico. Now, if New York City, and the State, should eliminate all relief here, would you be better off in New York City or in Puerto Rico?

Mr. IRIZARRY. That would be New York City's problem. We would not be better off here, no.

Mr. PARSONS. You would be better off in the island if the relief contribution was the same in both places, that is, none.

Mr. IRIZARRY. No; but your question implies more than what it says; because you say I told you before that we are living here off relief. Now, if that is taken off, you are starving us, and then there is no problem, we just die.

Mr. OSMERS. You made a statement in reply, first, that you would probably be better off in the island. You inferred that?

Mr. IRIZARRY. No. I made no comparison whatever between the status here and there but if you send us back we starve over there and if you take us out of relief here, we starve over here, and then the cases are not very different.

FAILURE OF W. P. A. TO PROVIDE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS FOR PUERTO RICANS

Mr. OSMERS You were a teacher in W. P. A., you said?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You were teaching English and Spanish?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Just English to the foreign-born, although my specialization is Spanish.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you think that you aided the classes that you taught?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Oh, definitely so. I did a splendid job.

Mr. OSMERS. I understood you to say that the W. P. A. schools you did not think had aided or assisted in any way in rehabilitating people here.

Mr. IRIZARRY. You see, but I was not teaching my own people. I was teaching German refugees. The gentleman over there asked me what effect did the vocational program of W. P. A. have on the people of my kind, and I said none whatsoever, because no schools had been provided for them.

Mr. OSMERS. When you say no schools had been provided for them, none had been provided near them, that they could go to?

Mr. IRIZARRY. Yes; and especially vocational schools. I told you that there were language schools, and there still are.

Mr. OSMERS. Because I have a considerable number of Puerto Ricans who come across the Hudson River every day over to my district in New Jersey, and receive very-well-paid employment there.

Mr. IRIZARRY. Yes. As a matter of fact, I had a little problem myself, because, being known in my neighborhood as a teacher in W. P. A., people got curious about certain facilities that they had, such as, for example, dressmaking, cooking classes, and various other programs in vocational training, and now these housewives wanted to know where the schools were. You see, they were interested, and when I had to tell them that they had to travel and pay fare, say, approximately 3 miles to go to the school, they were discouraged right there, and that shows that there were no schools in the immediate neighborhood.

In one school where I taught in Brooklyn I had a personal experience. It seemed to me that the whole question of vocational training in W. P. A. was being influenced by political pressure.

For example, I met the president of the Parent-Teachers' Association in Brooklyn, and this lady told me, "Oh, we had to fight so hard to get you people to come here because all of the schools are being given to New York City and there is nothing for us in Brooklyn."

Well, now, if that is not significant, you see——

Mr. OSMERS. Are you trying to imply, or do you care to make the statement, that because there were stronger political influences in other sections of the city than the section where the Puerto Ricans are domiciled, that that is the reason that they did not get schools there?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I should think so.

Mr. OSMERS. You want to make that statement?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I would make that statement because that opened my eyes to the necessities of my own neighborhood and gave me the answer to a certain question that had been lurking in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. You never took public speaking, did you?

Mr. IRIZARRY. I took several courses in public speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. I think with this national campaign on you can get some pretty good recommendations from this committee as to your ability.

Mr. IRIZARRY. Is that all, gentlemen?

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF ANTONIA ARANA, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name to the reporter, please?

Mrs. ARANA. Mrs. Antonia Arana, 1599 Madison Avenue, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you married?

Mrs. ARANA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any children?

Mrs. ARANA. Three children.

The CHAIRMAN. And your husband is working, is he?

Mrs. ARANA. He is working now.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he doing?

Mrs. ARANA. He is working in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come from Puerto Rico?

Mrs. ARANA. In October—October 1, 1939.

REASON FOR MIGRATION TO UNITED STATES

The CHAIRMAN. What did your husband do when he first came to the United States? What did he do then; what work?

Mrs. ARANA. In Puerto Rico he was working as a fireman in the railroad company; as a fireman.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he worked at that job ever since?

Mrs. ARANA. He was working there.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was he making?

Mrs. ARANA. $50 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to come here to this country?

Mrs. ARANA. Well, he sent me money and gave me a passage first.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not understand.

Mrs. ARANA. My husband gave me some money and sent me over with the children, and then he came after, 1 month after.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you live with here?

Mrs. ARANA. With my mother and sister.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they write and tell you that this was a good country and you could get a job here?

Mrs. ARANA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what did your husband do? He is working on a farm?

LIVING CONDITIONS IN NEW YORK

Mrs. ARANA. He is working in a club in the country, as a dishwasher.

The CHAIRMAN. How much is he making now?

Mrs. ARANA. $11 or $12 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. $12 a week?

Mrs. ARANA. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why did he quit the job in Puerto Rico?

Mrs. ARANA. Because I became tired of the living conditions in Puerto Rico, living so poorly, and so, since I got these letters from my family telling me about things over here, I decided to come here and make some headway.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your husband is making about the same money here that he made there. Can you live as well here as you could there?

Mrs. ARANA. But my sister works also, and the money she earns is spent on the family. With the additional salary of a sister working, making another $12 a week, that combines and makes the household income more.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You all live together as one household?

Mrs. ARANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. May I ask how much it cost to bring you and your three children here?

Mrs. ARANA. Well, my passage—I had half tickets for both children—and that is one passage for the children and one for me; that is $57 altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. PARSONS. Are you working yourself?

Mrs. ARANA. Not now.

Mr. PARSONS. Had you been trained in any particular work in the island before you came here?

Mrs. ARANA. No.

Mr. PARSONS. You are listed here as a textile finisher.

Mrs. ARENA. I worked 2 or 3 days in a week, and that is all.

Mr. PARSONS. How much did you make per week?

Mrs. ARANA. Well, I'd say I used to work 2 or 3 days a week at $1 a day.

Mr. PARSONS. About how many days, average days, in a year, did you work, receiving $1 a day?

Mrs. ARANA. I do not understand your question.

Mr. PARSONS. How many days a month did you average working in the island before you came to the mainland?

Mrs. ARANA. That answer was wrong; I meant here. I did not work in the island at all. I got married immediately after graduation from school.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you learn the textile finishing?

Mrs. ARANA. Here in this country.

Mr. PARSONS. Since you came here?

Mrs. Arana. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You had no experience in the island before you came?

Mrs. Arana. No, sir. Finishing does not require much experience.

LIVING CONDITIONS IN PUERTO RICO

Mr. Parsons. What were your living conditions in the island when you say your husband was making $50 per month?

Mrs. Arana. Well, the salary he was making was spent for food and we had just two rooms and no furniture of any kind and the condition and everything was dreary and shabby and having been a high-school graduate I had better notions of living.

Mr. Parsons. Well, with the standard of living existing as low as it did in the island, I should think that $50 a month would be the equivalent of at least $100 or more per month here; is that true?

Mrs. Arana. No; that is not true. Prices are almost on the same level, if not higher, because the man pays there $15 for a suit of clothes, and it is so bad that it tears away in 6 months, and if he came to New York and paid $22 or $22.50 it might stand 2 years, so practically they are paying three times the price here.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MISS JONES (ALIAS), A YOUNG GIRL TRANSIENT

The Chairman. All right, Miss Jones.

Miss Jones, "Jones" is not your correct name, is it?

Miss Jones. No, sir.

The Chairman. But we have your correct name in our files, haven't we?

Miss Jones. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. How old are you?

Miss Jones. Eighteen.

The Chairman. And where are you from?

Miss Jones. From Maine.

The Chairman. From Maine?

Miss Jones. Yes.

The Chairman. Are your parents there?

Miss Jones. No, sir.

The Chairman. Where do they live?

Miss Jones. My father was living there, but my mother is dead.

The Chairman. Will you talk a little louder; and how did you come to leave home?

Miss Jones. Well, we started to hitchhike to California.

The Chairman. How long ago was that?

Miss Jones. That was last fall.

The Chairman. And then where did you go?

Miss Jones. We went to Boston, and we found work in the hotel there; but it was too hard for us because we were so young, and we went to St. Louis, and from St. Louis to Los Angeles, and we couldn't find anything there so we came back.

The Chairman. What became of your girl companion? Is she here with you?

Miss Jones. No, sir; she is married.

The Chairman. She is what?

Miss Jones. She is married.

The CHAIRMAN. And what are you doing now?

Miss JONES. I am not doing anything.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not employed at all?

Miss JONES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Miss JONES. Eighteen.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any difficulty getting across State lines?

Miss JONES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you travel?

Miss JONES. Hitchhiking.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you get rides?

Miss JONES. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. At any State borders, were you stopped and questioned?

Miss JONES. No.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you get back to New York City?

Miss JONES. I stopped in Philadelphia for 3 months.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any work there?

Miss JONES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go when you arrived in Philadelphia?

Miss JONES. Well——

Mr. CURTIS. You went to relief quarters?

Miss JONES. We were detained. We had to stay there until they sent for us to go home.

Mr. CURTIS. Your transfer never came to go home?

Miss JONES. No, public welfare made arrangements.

Mr. CURTIS. Did anybody in Philadelphia tell you that you must move on?

Miss JONES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You decided to come to New York of your own free will?

Miss JONES. I went back home and then there was not anything up there, it was just the same as when I left.

Mr. CURTIS. And you went back to Maine?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And when did you arrive in New York this last time?

Miss JONES. It must have been a month ago.

Mr. CURTIS. What agency is taking care of you now?

Miss JONES. Travelers Aid.

Mr. CURTIS. Travelers Aid?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there a time limit on how long they will provide you with food and shelter?

Miss JONES. I don't know if there is any special time.

Mr. CURTIS. How old did you say you were?

Miss JONES. Eighteen.

Mr. CURTIS. How far in school have you gone?

Miss JONES. Three years in high school.

Mr. CURTIS. Three years in high school?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you quit school?

Miss JONES. When I was in my third year, in 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. In 1937?

Miss JONES. Yes.

ECONOMIC NECESSITY REASON FOR LEAVING HOME

Mr. Curtis. How large a town in Maine do you come from?

Miss Jones. A very small one, of a hundred people.

Mr. Curtis. Is your father unemployed?

Miss Jones. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Would that community in Maine provide you with enough relief to get on if you decided to stay there?

Miss Jones. No, sir.

Mr. Curtis. If you had stayed there in the first instance, would they have taken care of you, or would you have starved to death?

Miss Jones. Probably have starved to death.

Mr. Curtis. You really think so?

Miss Jones. Well, there was not any sort of relief up there. It is not a town, it is a plantation.

Mr. Curtis. It is a plantation?

Miss Jones. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. What do they raise there?

Miss Jones. All sorts of vegetables.

Mr. Curtis. How does your father get along? How does he get along?

Miss Jones. He is not in that place where I was.

Mr. Curtis. Where is he?

Miss Jones. I am not sure now. You see, it has been a long time since I have seen him.

Mr. Curtis. He is drifting around the country, too?

Miss Jones. I don't think so, but I don't know where he is.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have any brothers or sisters?

Miss Jones. I have two brothers and one sister.

Mr. Curtis. Are they older or younger than you?

Miss Jones. They are all older.

Mr. Curtis. Do they have homes of their own?

Miss Jones. No, sir—yes, they do; two of them have. The other one has not.

Mr. Curtis. But there is no one in Maine that will provide for you or anyone else would help so that you would not have to travel around the country like this?

Miss Jones. Well, I suppose that there are places.

Mr. Curtis. You made no particular inquiry about it?

Miss Jones. No; we would rather work.

Mr. Curtis. You wanted to get out and find a job?

Miss Jones. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. That is all.

FAMILY RECORD

The Chairman. Sadie, were your father and mother American citizens?

Miss Jones. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. And your mother's father, tell me about him?

Miss Jones. He came over from Scotland.

The Chairman. From Scotland?

Miss Jones. Yes.

The Chairman. Did he have any connection with the American Army?

Miss JONES. He was an American soldier in the Spanish-American War; he was a general.

The CHAIRMAN. A general in the Spanish-American War?

Miss JONES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They fire a salute to his memory in Portland, Maine?

Miss JONES. They do it every year.

The CHAIRMAN. But he was a general?

Miss JONES. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Is he drawing a pension?

Miss JONES. He is dead now.

The CHAIRMAN. This is her mother's father. How old were you when your mother died?

Miss JONES. I was about 6.

Mr. PARSONS. Did the father keep the family together until you were grown?

Miss JONES. No, sir; he put us in an orphanage.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in the orphanage?

Miss JONES. About 3 or 4 years.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been out of the orphanage?

Miss JONES. Ten years, about.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of an orphanage was it?

Miss JONES. A Catholic institution.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you leave of your own accord?

Miss JONES. No; I ran away.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you made any attempt to qualify and secure work as a domestic?

Miss JONES. Yes; I have.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you made that attempt in small towns and farming communities?

Miss JONES. We did on the way out when we tried for everything, but they did not want to pay us anything.

Mr. CURTIS. And, of course, you were not known, either?

Miss JONES. No.

HITCH-HIKING FROM MAINE TO CALIFORNIA

Mr. OSMERS. Miss Jones, how much money did you have when you left Maine, on this hitchhiking expedition that went right across the country?

Miss JONES. We had about $40, I guess.

Mr. OSMERS. $40?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And how did you finance your travels when that money ran out? Where did you sleep, and what did you eat?

Miss JONES. That only lasted as far as Boston, and we stopped off there for about a month, and then the rest of the way, we did not eat most of the time and we just caught naps in cars, we did not sleep.

Mr. OSMERS. You did not go to bed at night and get up the next morning, you just slept as you went along the road?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And on the food question, what did you eat?

Miss JONES. Well, we did not eat very much. Some people we were riding with would give us something.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you have any employment between Boston and Los Angeles?

Miss JONES. No; we did not.

Mr. OSMERS. You did not have any at all?

Miss JONES. No, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you have any in Los Angeles?

Miss JONES. We had some doing housework.

Mr. OSMERS. How much did they pay you?

Miss JONES. Three dollars a week.

Mr. OSMERS. Three dollars a week?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And board?

Miss JONES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Sadie, why did you leave home?

Miss JONES. Well, I was working in a mill, and they had a seasonal shutdown.

Mr. PARSONS. How long did it take you to make the trip from Boston to St. Louis?

Miss JONES. It took us exactly 1 week.

Mr. PARSONS. Riding with different people?

Miss JONES. Yes; we had quite a few long rides.

Mr. PARSONS. You got a few long rides?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How long did it take you to get back to Philadelphia?

Miss JONES. Three weeks.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you work any while you were in transit, a few days at a time at any place?

Miss JONES. No. Once we worked in Texarkana, we worked at a store.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you say you got back to New York City?

Miss JONES. I came here about a month ago.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you worked any since you came here?

Miss JONES. Yes; I worked for 2 weeks.

Mr. PARSONS. How much have you been receiving per week?

Miss JONES. I am not working now.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you worked any since you came here 30 days ago?

Miss JONES. Yes; I worked just 2 weeks.

Mr. PARSONS. What did you receive for those 2 weeks?

Miss. JONES. $8.

Mr. PARSONS. $4 per week?

Miss JONES. No; $8 per week.

Mr. PARSONS. What were you doing?

Miss JONES. Hotel work.

Mr. PARSONS. But you are unemployed now?

Miss JONES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How do you live when you are unemployed and have no earning power?

Miss JONES. I am staying at the Travelers Aid now.

Mr. PARSONS. What allowances do they make?

Miss JONES. What is that?

Mr. PARSONS. Do they make you any allowance or just furnish you a place to eat and sleep?

Miss JONES. Just furnish a place to eat and sleep and help me find a job.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you ever tried to seek employment as domestic in any of the homes here?

Miss JONES. Yes; I have tried.

Mr. PARSONS. And you have been unable to find any employment?

Miss JONES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to work at a mill in Maine after you left home?

Miss JONES. Not after I left home.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, after you left the orphanage?

Miss JONES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you get there?

Miss JONES. I got about $16.50 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. You were under age at that time, were you not?

Miss JONES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who signed your application for you?

Miss JONES. The principal of the school.

The CHAIRMAN. And how far did you go in school, what grade?

Miss JONES. Three years in high school.

The CHAIRMAN. Your father is a bookkeeper, isn't he?

Miss JONES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he employed now?

Miss JONES. I do not believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that he was unable to support you?

Miss JONES. Well, at that time the company he was with closed down, and he just let everything drift.

Mr. PARSONS. Did he try to keep you at home or did you slip away unannounced to him?

Miss JONES. I went whenever I wanted to. He always knew it.

Mr. PARSONS. You did not run away from home?

Miss JONES. Oh, no.

Mr. CURTIS. How much wages did your father receive before the shut-down came?

Miss JONES. I don't know that, because I was young at the time. That was before my mother died.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever have any trouble with your father?

Miss JONES. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. During your travels around, how many different States did you go through?

Miss JONES. Forty-six.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of the 48 States?

Miss JONES. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Trying to get work all the way?

Miss JONES. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And never succeeded?

Miss JONES. No, sir. We could not stop long enough.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you mind telling us what two States you did not go through?

Miss JONES. Washington and Oregon.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where would you spend the night on the way when you could not find a place?

Miss Jones. Well, we would usually go to the police station, and they would put us up at hotels.

Mr. Sparkman. When you get to a town you would go to the police station first?

Miss Jones. If it was coming night, we would.

Mr. Sparkman. That is all.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Sadie, for coming here.

Mr. Parsons. You have had a very interesting career at 18 years.

We will call Mr. Leet.

TESTIMONY OF GLEN LEET, ADMINISTRATOR OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

The Chairman. Mr. Leet, I understand you have no prepared statement. Have you?

Mr. Leet. That is correct. I have not.

The Chairman. And we have had a pretty long day here and I know you will be as brief as you reasonably can.

Please give your full name to the reporter.

Mr. Leet. My name is Glen Leet.

The Chairman. In what capacity did you appear here?

Mr. Leet. I am the administrator of public assistance in the Department of Social Welfare of the State of Rhode Island.

For 5 years I was a field representative with the American Public Welfare Association, and have drafted relief and public welfare bills which have been enacted into law in a number of States, including California, Arizona, New Mexico, New Hampshire, Oregon, Washington, Utah, North Dakota, and Rhode Island.

This experience has brought me quite closely in contact with the relief problem and I drafted a bill 2 or 3 years ago designed to meet to some degree the transient relief problem throughout the Nation.
the Nation.

LEGISLATION BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

It seemed to me that there were some fundamental principles which should be observed, gentlemen, in drafting any legislation that affects the transient problem throughout the country. First of all, of course, the best way to meet the transient relief problem is to provide that there will be adequate care for people in the places where they live, where their homes are.

The most constructive measure, it seems to me, for contributing to this end, is the bill which was introduced by Congressman Voorhis a year or so ago which would have provided a system of grants-in-aid to various States for general public assistance, administered by the Social Security Board.

The biggest obstacles to effectively meeting the problem are the State settlement laws which exist in so many States. Our Rhode Island settlement laws are nearly three centuries old, the first one being enacted in 1655. A committee made a study of the settlement laws in 1739, and reported that they were unsatisfactory at that time, and they have continued to be unsatisfactory to this day.

ELIMINATION OF SETTLEMENT LAWS

You gentlemen, by enacting Federal legislation on this problem, could provide an incentive which would be effective in inducing States to eliminate their settlement laws. For example, I feel that Rhode Island would abolish its settlement laws. One of the principles——

The CHAIRMAN. Right on that point, of course we can't tell the States just what laws they should make regarding residence, can we?

Mr. LEET. No; but you can provide incentive. For example, you provided incentive for States to enact old-age-assistance legislation, and every State in the Union enacted such legislation within a very short time.

You could provide an incentive for States to abolish their settlement laws and I think every State would do it within a period of 2 years.

ADMINISTRATION OF AID TO TRANSIENTS

First of all, any aid to transients should be administered through the regular relief machinery of the State or locality. To set up a Federal program of assisting transients in the past has proved to be expensive. It aggravates the problem, and public opinion would not support it.

In the first place, any self-respecting Federal program would be of a standard of assistance which would be higher in some States than the existing standard, and public opinion has in the past rebelled against providing nonresidents with a higher standard of care than is provided for residents.

FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES

It seems to me that the best solution of the problem would be a system of grants-in-aid to the States for relief. The amount of money which a State would receive would be dependent upon the extent of the transient problem within that State, but there would be fixed allocations which could not be exceeded in any State.

The payments to a State should not be on the basis of actual amounts spent for transients in that State, because experience in a great many States, when they have tried to handle this problem with local units of Government, indicates that with such a basis you increase the relief problem, and in no time at all nobody would have State residence; they would all be transients, and the Federal burden would be continually increased.

If, however, there is a proportional allotment, so that no State will gain anything by shipping people into the other State or encouraging people from the other States to come in, you will find the cost will be greatly decreased. The proportion of Federal aid granted need not be the total amount that Oregon, for example, would spend for relief purposes, but the difference between the amount which Oregon spends for relief people from outside of Oregon, and the amount computed on a statistical basis, which is spent on people with Oregon settlement, who were assisted outside of the State. Such an arrangement greatly decreases the total amount of cost to which the Federal Government would be obligated.

It seems to me that such a system of grants-in-aid should be administered by the Social Security Board as one of the public assistance titles, and I think that there is just one requirement that should be made in order for a State to qualify for its proportion of the grant. That is the requirement that a State, in order to receive this amount of assistance, must certify that such assistance as is granted within the State will be granted without discrimination because of nonresidence. Just that one requirement is sufficient, and to meet that requirement it would be necessary for States to abolish their settlement laws and other restrictive provisions which many of them have as far as residence is concerned.

The solution seems to me not difficult, and it is not expensive on this basis, but the problem is much more acute than the number of people or the amount of money involved would indicate, because of the fact that it is something that no one State can solve without Federal aid, and any State which individually tries to solve the problem of providing adequate assistance finds itself penalized by migration from other parts of the country.

That is the substance of the statement that I had in mind, and in Rhode Island the problem is not a very great one. There seems to be a balance between the number of people who come in and the number of people who go out. Our greatest problem arises, not out of migratory workers, but because of the fact that our State has had involved settlement laws, so that in the past there have been people who are not eligible for any type of assistance. I think that we would welcome any type of Federal program which would give some encouragement and incentive to the abolition of our settlement laws.

Mr. **Parsons**. Well, Mr. Chairman, if the settlement laws were all abolished, and the Federal aid were given in grants to the States, would not that be an incentive to at least a small percentage of people who might take a notion to travel to see America first, by migrating from State to State, and do it at the expense of the Federal Government?

Mr. **Leet**. I think to some extent people migrate to get jobs, they don't migrate just to get relief.

Mr. **Parsons**. But if you set up that kind of a system, might not that serve as an incentive to a few people here and there to migrate from State to State just to see the country?

Since they are going to be provided with the necessities of life, and they tell their friends and their neighbors, or their acquaintances, that they are traveling with a free meal ticket, would not that be an incentive for others likewise to start out on the road?

Mr. **Leet**. It would remove the deterent of starvation which now exists.

Mr. **Osmers**. Mr. Leet, may I interrupt for a question? I must share somewhat the opinion of Mr. Parsons that the mere elimination of settlement laws might facilitate granting relief to destitute migrants, but it would not in any way that I can see, or what you have pointed out, eliminate the problem or help a solution of the problem of destitute migrants.

Now, contrary to the testimony that you just gave, we have had numerous bits of evidence in coming across the State of New Jersey, and also here today, that people have migrated for relief, contrary to the expression of opinion that you gave, that they migrate for jobs. We had a man here a few minutes ago and he gave us at least some evidence that people come here from Puerto Rico to get relief as much as they would jobs, and in the State of New Jersey, where I come from, there are people who migrate from New Jersey to Philadelphia and to New York to get better relief. We had considerable evidence to that effect last Saturday.

So far as the system of Federal grants-in-aid to the various States is concerned, do you feel that that would cause an abnormal dislocation in the population, if it were made easy for people to move into different States and just stay right on relief after the minute that they got there?

I am thinking of housing problems, and health problems, and all of the things—educational problems. Supposing that a group of people migrated into a community that I live in—that has 1,400 people, and 500 people migrated there, and we had grants-of-aid from the Federal Government to keep those people on relief. Who is going to educate them, and what are you going to do about it?

MIGRATION NOT UNDESIRABLE

Mr. Leet. There is nothing inherently undesirable about migration. A great deal of it is very desirable insofar as meeting changing industrial and labor needs are concerned, and the thing that causes the suffering is migration to places where there are no facilities to provide the migrants any of the necessities of life. It is bad when a city or a town knows that if it gives them any of the necessities of life, it will be swamped with an impossible problem, and public officials are in a position where they have to be brutal in order to prevent the problem becoming more acute. The migration itself is not bad.

Mr. Curtis. Would there be a tendency to create a special problem for States and localities that have favorable climatic conditions?

Mr. Leet. I do not think so. They have already got that problem, and it would mean that they would have a little more resources with which to meet the problem which they now have.

Now, as to California, the presence of people with some income and resources is not a problem. It—the problem—is having on their hands people with no resources and no income and no way of supporting them.

Mr. Osmers. Would not you say, Mr. Leet, as a matter of general policy, that if a citizen of the United States was unable to support himself and must appeal for some kind of public relief, he would be better off to be on relief in his home locality, where his family ties and lifetime connections are, than to be on relief in some strange place, some place far away?

Now, if you abolish the settlement laws, of course, that is just not going to happen. The relief client is going to stay on relief where he happens to be.

Mr. Leet. The whole principle of local responsibility breaks down because the places where the greatest number of people in need are in stranded localities, where there are no tax sources to support them. The trends of migration are from the States of low economic opportunities to those of greater economic opportunities, and by and large that trend is a desirable thing.

Mr. Osmers. You would say it would be advisable for citizens who could not support themselves in one State, and the State was not particularly well able to support them, that they should move to some other State where the State was better able to support them?

Mr. LEET. It is probably better for the entire Nation that they move to an area where the possibilities of employment are greater.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, what provoked my question in the beginning was this: That there is hardly a week goes by that I don't receive a letter from two or three people who are living on W. P. A., in a county in Illinois, wanting to know why they can't be transferred to another county, for reasons better known to themselves, either to get into a larger town, where they can have what they think are better surroundings, or to be nearer relatives or friends.

Now, in the State of Illinois, the requirements for relief are such that for certification purposes on W. P. A., they must be within the county 6 months before they can be certified. If a man moves to another county, he loses his certification, or loses his relief until he has been there a certain time.

I get these letters wanting to transfer to this county or that county, or somewhere else.

Now, that is what provoked my question. I think if you break down all of your State settlement laws, and you give grants-in-aid to the States, that you will have a large percentage of people wanting to move here for a little while and on to the next State for a little while, just to see the country and familiarize themselves—something similar to the witness that we had just prior to you.

Mr. LEET. That is one problem, but suppose that that county were a coal-mining county where the coal mines are all worked out. If a person stays there the rest of his life, and the children stay there all of the rest of their lives, they will always be a public responsibility.

The CHAIRMAN. To me, the proposition is this: There are thousands and thousands of acres in Oklahoma, and eastern Texas, where the tractor, or—the mechanization point comes in there—they absolutely cannot live, and the State cannot take care of them. It has not the finances.

And now the Farm Security Administration takes care of 800,000 families, to give them enough to eat on and a little seed, and there are 500,000 left there, so that is where the Federal Government, under your idea, steps in, don't you see; and you don't want to send them into the States of destination where there are settlement laws so that they cannot live until they do get a job.

Mr. LEET. I think it is very bad for the whole Nation to have settlement laws that have the effect of chaining people, like serfs in the Middle Ages, to the soil upon which they happen to be born.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, there is no complete answer to this migrant problem, is there, but the Federal Government can do more than it is doing now to keep up the morale of our people, and not let our people in the States of origin, not able to exist, remain there?

Mr. LEET. I agree with you entirely.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You would not intend the program that you suggested to be at all the exclusive or complete program. You would certainly try to alleviate the conditions back there before the migration started?

Mr. LEET. Yes. Primarily through a system of adequate general relief.

Mr. Sparkman. And such as the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. Leet. And such programs as that, and by strengthening of the Employment Service facilities, because there is health, welfare, and a labor problem here. This helps only the welfare problem—the relief problem.

FINANCING OF TRANSIENT PROGRAM

Mr. Sparkman. On this plan that you propose of grants-in-aid to States, to what extent would you expect the States to participate, and on what basis?

Mr. Leet. To be an adequate system, it should be as a part of the system of grants-in-aid to a State with general public assistance, and with an additional allotment proportionate to the added burden which that State has because of the increased transient problem.

Mr. Sparkman. I mean by that that you would not require the State to—or you would not make the grant-in-aid dependent upon the amount which the State itself contributed, such as some of our laws do now? Old-age assistance, for instance?

Mr. Leet. No; I think that that is unwise. For example, well, pretty near a hundred years ago some States set up systems by which the State would take care of people without town residence, and the experience was that the number of people without town residence increased until the State had an overwhelming burden.

If the Federal Government were to say to the States, "We will take care of all of the people without residence in your State," the burden would increase so continually that in time the Federal Government would have a tremendous load.

Mr. Sparkman. Did not the old transient camps that were formerly provided by the Federal Government through its relief program prove rather unsatisfactory?

Mr. Leet. Yes; that was because they were providing a different type of assistance at a different standard than that which prevailed in the community, and to local relief officials it meant that what they called tramps and bums were receiving a different standard of assistance than their own residents. Then they started writing to their Congressmen immediately.

POPULATION PRESSURE PRODUCES MIGRATION

Mr. Sparkman. Well, Mr. Leet, a great part of this relief program grows out of the fact that some sections of our country have a much faster increase in their population, a larger birth rate than other sections, and that migration must follow from those particular sections. That is your idea, is it not?

Mr. Leet. Yes; and it is very much in the interest of those sections that there be this free flow of migration; and, incidentally, areas that are especially favored by climate are going to find a great increase, presumably, as a result of the programs like this old-age and survivors' insurance. A great number of people with small incomes are going to California to spend the remainder of their days, and that is not undesirable from the point of view of the State.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, going back to the other end of the age scale, the birth rate in these sections, in which I am particularly interested because that happens to be the condition that prevails in the part of the country from which I come. In studying the problem, do you not think it only fair that we recognize the fact that the resources of those sections are heavily taxed in order to provide the cost of bringing those people up to the age that they attain before they migrate; for instance, schooling? We have an excess of population that must move into other sections of the country, and our resources naturally are heavily taxed in order to give them the schooling necessary to equip them in order to go out and hold those jobs that they seek.

Mr. LEET. In your State, if you raise mules and ship them out of the State, people in other States pay you for the expense of raising them; but you raise children, and have all of the expense of education and other facilities, and they come to other States, and the other States do not pay you anything for raising the children.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Leet, we have had in the last 5 years 850,000 migrants move into California.

Let me give you this picture. Supposing that you had an earthquake or a volcano or something of that kind, by which the homes of people here in New York, or the farms and one thing and another, were destroyed, and they had to move into Pennsylvania, 850,000 of them; you don't think that the Federal Government would hesitate a moment to take care of them, to get them on their feet?

Mr. LEET. Not at all. It would be necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Leet, we thank you very much, and we have another witness.

Mr. PARSONS. I just want to ask one more question.

PERCENTAGE BASIS OF FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION TO STATES

Upon what percentage basis do you think the Federal Government should contribute to the State?

Mr. LEET. I don't think it should be on a percentage basis. You should figure how much money you can make available for this purpose, whether it is $10,000,000 or $20,000,000 or $30,000,000, and allocate that amount to the States, in proportion to the burden which they bear because of migratory problems.

As far as our objective of meeting the problem is concerned, it does not make much difference whether that is 50 or 60 or 75 or 90 percent of the cost to the State.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you not think, though, that each State should contribute at least a substantial amount? And if that is not done, you find certain towns and cities and so on that might be inviting migrants to come into their territory and getting the money because it would be spent with their merchants.

Do you think that that problem would enter into it after a year or two?

Mr. LEET. I think that it might.

Mr. PARSONS. So that the State, it seems to me, should contribute a substantial amount. The Federal Government should not by any means contribute the total or anything like near the total, because if the Federal Government is going to contribute practically the entire amount to take care of that, then the State loses its responsibility in the problem.

Mr. LEET. Of course, the Federal Government can go a lot further than it is going now without running into any danger of that.

Mr. PARSONS. But if we were going to tackle this problem on the long-range plan, do you think the State government, and probably even the local or municipal government, should share in the expense of it?

Mr. LEET. Yes; I think that a part of the problem is a State problem, but certainly the origin of it is partly a Nation-wide problem in scope and should be a national responsibility.

Mr. PARSONS. My opinion is that if the Federal Government, for instance, contributed 90 percent to one State and 10 percent to an adjoining State, you would have towns along the border lines of those States advertising for migrants to come in and receive better treatment there, and lower prices, and it would get into a commercial proposition.

Mr. LEET. That would certainly happen if you reimbursed a State directly in proportion to the amount that it spent, and I do not think it should be a direct payment to the States, based upon actual expenditures per individual. It should be computed on a statistical basis, and to be a proportion of the total appropriation.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, either one, unless there was some very close supervision, would ultimately end either the way that I indicated or in what you indicated.

Another problem would develop there of increasing the amount because it might make good business for the merchants in certain localities, and the political consideration it might get into it from a voting standpoint, especially in election years.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't overlook the political situation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The contribution should be based on need rather than upon any direct percentage or proportion of it?

Mr. LEET. Yes; that is right.

Mr. OSMERS. There is just one opinion that I would like to get from Mr. Leet, and then I will be through. We had a witness here this morning who made the following statement:

> Sound adjustment of population to resources is ultimately dependent on local initiative.

You apparently disagree with that statement.

Mr. LEET. Oh, I think it is a factor, but there are a great many other factors which are not within the control of any one community.

The CHAIRMAN. Over which they have no control.

Mr. LEET. No control. An Illinois county, where the coal mines are just exhausted, has no control over that situation.

Mr. OSMERS. This statement that I heard here of local initiative might apply to a coal-mining situation, where the locality itself would have a realization of that and try to solve it on an intelligent basis, rather than upon a basis of how far an automobile of a citizen of that coal-mining area would run, or how far he could get on the amount of money that he had.

Mr. LEET. Yes; I think some New England cities and towns, for example, have adapted themselves to the changing social and economic conditions and developed different types of industries and occupations, but there is a limit to how much could be accomplished that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW J. BRADLEY, FREELAND, PA.

The CHAIRMAN. The last witness is Mr. Bradley.

Will you make it brief, please?

What is your name?

Mr. BRADLEY. Andrew J. Bradley.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. BRADLEY. Fifty-four.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you married?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. BRADLEY. Freeland, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you working now?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any children?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes, sir; three boys.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are they?

Mr. BRADLEY. 22, 18, and 12.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they working?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you living?

Mr. BRADLEY. On relief.

The CHAIRMAN. You are on relief?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. BRADLEY. Miner.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a miner?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you work?

WORK RECORD AS MINER

Mr. BRADLEY. I worked at Lattimer, and I got put out on account of seniority rights, I was the last man put on and the first man put off.

I worked at other collieries, but they shut down and I had to go and seek other employment; and when I went there I was the youngest man, and when they started reducing the force there I had to get out.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Freeland from here? How far from here?

Mr. BRADLEY. About 135 miles, I judge.

The CHAIRMAN. The two boys on relief, too; are they working?

Mr. BRADLEY. Nobody is working. The last job I had was on gypsy moth.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you been doing?

Mr. BRADLEY. I worked at the coal mines all of my life, and then about 1935 or about 1925, I guess, as times started to get slack in 1929, things shut down where I was, and then I had to seek other employment some place.

I worked here and there for a couple of weeks at a time, in tunnels and all around, and I never had no employment at all, steady, until about 2 years ago, when I got a job at Lattimer, and I worked there for about 2 years, and then I was laid off.

PRESENT RELIEF STATUS

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what are the chances for your employment as a miner?

Mr. BRADLEY. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. BRADLEY. Because everything is going back, nothing is going ahead, and I understand they are robbing in the mines, robbing the pillars. That means they are coming down. There is no work for me. Every day there is somebody else getting out. The work is getting scarcer, and the mining area is getting smaller. The veins of coal are getting worked out.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there many in situations like yours?

Mr. BRADLEY. Oh, lots of them; lots of them; right in the town I live in, up around that section.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they on relief, too?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes, sir; lots of them work on W. P. A.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you do if you were not able to get relief?

Mr. BRADLEY. I don't know. I would have to go and steal if I could not get relief. That is the only thing I could see. I have to live.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me this: Have you ever thought of getting yourself a little farm in the country where you could support yourself at least insofar as food is concerned, certainly with three sons of those ages——

Mr. BRADLEY. I don't think that I would know anything about farming, because I worked in the mines all of my life.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have a vegetable garden where you are now?

Mr. BRADLEY. Where I live you could not raise anything in our yard even, because it is all red shale.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you be willing—this is a kind of a trick question—would you be willing to move to some other part of the United States if you could be placed upon a small farm that had the possibilities of supporting you?

Mr. BRADLEY. Well, yes; but I don't know anything about farming in the first place. I would sooner if I had some employment around where I was raised, where we could keep my family together. I don't want me and my family to part.

Mr. OSMERS. When you say "your family" you mean your immediate family, or your other relatives?

Mr. BRADLEY. No; only me and my wife and my three sons.

Mr. OSMERS. I mean, keeping all of those together, if they move the five of you out to some fertile piece of ground, would a proposition of that nature interest you?

Mr. BRADLEY. I could not work the farm. I wouldn't know anything about it in the first place. You can't make a farmer out of a miner. I would have to be taught that.

Mr. OSMERS. Supposing that some education along that line was provided for you?

You have got three sons there, 12, 18, and 22. They are certainly not miners in any sense of the word.

Mr. BRADLEY. They have never worked at all. One boy was in the C. C. C. camps for 6 months, that is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Why isn't he still in the C. C. C.?

Mr. BRADLEY. He is not in there.

Mr. OSMERS. Why didn't he continue in there?

Mr. BRADLEY. He didn't like it there.

Mr. OSMERS. What didn't he like about it?

Mr. BRADLEY. I don't know. When his 6 months were up—I don't think the C. C. C. camp is a good place for a young boy.

Mr. OSMERS. You don't?

Mr. BRADLEY. Because he learns much there that he would not learn if he was at home.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was the C. C. C. camp located?

Mr. BRADLEY. La Porte, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brady, your family would like to live with each other and you want your boys with you, do you not?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes, sir; if it is possible to be that way.

The CHAIRMAN. You would rather have them home with you than in the C. C. C. camp, wouldn't you?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Did they work the boy pretty hard?

Mr. BRADLEY. They worked him out on the roads.

Mr. PARSONS. Had he ever been used to any work like that before?

Mr. BRADLEY. Well, no; he didn't work. He just thought that he would go to the C. C. C. camp, and his mother didn't want him to go but he coaxed and coaxed and he went and every Friday they were coming home, and then we had a heck of a time getting him back to La Porte for Monday morning.

Mr. PARSONS. Had he ever worked at anything? I assume that this is the 22-year-old boy.

Mr. BRADLEY. No.

Mr. PARSONS. It is the 18-year-old?

Mr. BRADLEY. The 18-year-old one just graduated in June.

Mr. PARSONS. Had he ever worked at anything before?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir; none of them ever worked.

Mr. PARSONS. Never had done any chores around home or sold papers, or things like that?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes; he hauled coal.

Mr. PARSONS. Has the boy 22 years old ever done any work?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. But he didn't like the C. C. C. camp, and did he complain about working too hard ?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir; he did not complain.

Mr. PARSONS. He just did not like it.

Mr. BRADLEY. He just came out when the enlistment was up.

Mr. PARSONS. How large a town do you live in?

Mr. BRADLEY. About 6,000.

Mr. PARSONS. Had the boy ever been in the countryside, before this boy went into the C. C. C. camp?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir; they had always been at home.

Mr. PARSONS. He did not like the countryside?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Don't you think that sometimes the American citizen might be better off if he made himself like a few of these things once in a while? Our forefathers had to like a lot of things over here when we first started. Don't you think it might be a little better if we kind of disciplined ourselves a little bit and made ourselves and our children like some things better?

Mr. **Bradley**. Maybe you have something there, but the children today, they don't want to do this, and they don't do it, that is all.

Mr. **Parsons**. I started work in the new ground when I was 7.

Mr. **Bradley**. And I started in the mines when I was 14.

Mr. **Parsons**. And our parents used to say they didn't want their children to work as hard as they had to work, but I notice that our forebears got along a little better than some of us are getting along in this depression period. That is the reason I suggested the idea, it might be better if we kind of discipline them a little bit and make them like some of the things that they apparently don't like at first.

Mr. **Bradley**. Well, you can tell them that, but what can you do?

Mr. **Sparkman**. Mr. Brady, is neither one of your sons doing anything, any work at all?

Mr. **Bradley**. No.

Mr. **Sparkman**. And you are not working now?

Mr. **Bradley**. No, sir. The last job I had was on the gypsy moth.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Has either of your boys tried to get on W. P. A.?

Mr. **Bradley**. They tried W. P. A. and they tried N. Y. A. and nothing doing.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Did the 22-year-old-boy ever try to get in the C. C. C. camp?

Mr. **Bradley**. He was.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I thought you said it was the 18-year-old boy.

Mr. **Bradley**. No, the 22-year-old boy.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Has the 18-year-old boy ever tried to get in?

Mr. **Bradley**. He wrote to a certain banker in McAdoo; he heard that the Federal Government was going to put a grant in a place in there, and he wrote to him and this banker told him, "No, he did not think that they were, because that was occupied by the P. P. & L." You see somebody told him that the Federal Government was going to put some kind of work in there, where I come from, and he wrote to this man and asked if he could get a job.

Mr. **Sparkman**. But did he ever try to get into a C. C. C. camp?

Mr. **Bradley**. No, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman**. My impression is that there has been quite a heavy enrollment of C. C. C. boys just recently, and it seems to me that it would be well for them to reconsider that proposition, and then there is another thought that enters my mind. Of course the Army has been trying to enlist young men, and probably the Navy too. I am not sure, but I know the Army has, and I wonder if any of your boys have ever given consideration to that?

Mr. **Bradley**. My oldest boy couldn't go in the Army or the Navy.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Why not?

Mr. **Bradley**. On account of his eyes.

Mr. **Sparkman**. He has a physical disability?

Mr. **Bradley**. Yes, his eyes.

Mr. **Sparkman**. That is all.

The **Chairman**. I would like to thank you very much, Mr. Bradley.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

The **Chairman**. We stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 10 a. m., tomorrow, Tuesday, July 30, 1940.)

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

TUESDAY, JULY 30, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the Federal Court Building, New York, N. Y., pursuant to adjournment, Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman), presiding:

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; James S. Owens, chief field investigator; Ariel E. V. Dunn, field investigator; Edward J. Rowell, field investigator; Henry H. Collins, Jr., field investigator; and Alice Tuohy, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY BY JAMES J. WADSWORTH, NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLYMAN FROM LIVINGSTON COUNTY; MEMBER OF THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COOPERATION

The Chairman. Mr. Wadsworth, we will hear you first this morning. We are doing that out of respect for your illustrious father as well as yourself.

Mr. Wadsworth. I appreciate your courtesy, sir.

The Chairman. Do you desire to read a statement?

Mr. Wadsworth. I would like to run through this statement just as fast as I possibly can, and then whatever else is at your pleasure.

(Reading) The Honorable Harold C. Ostertag, chairman of the joint legislative committee on interstate cooperation, has requested that I represent that committee before your committee here today. As further qualification, I may state that I have been chairman of the New York State Assembly Committee on Public Relief and Welfare for the past 5 years, and chairman for the past 3 years of a joint legislative committee studying the employment problems of middle-aged persons. The question of the care of nonsettled persons has naturally been a matter of very real concern to our committee. We have had several meetings at which the problems have been discussed as they relate to the State of New York and the States adjoining us. The last meeting at which this subject was discussed was that held July 9 and 10 of this year. On that occasion there were four aspects of the problem considered.

MIGRANT PROBLEMS IN NEW YORK STATE

In the first place, we gave consideration to the operation of the New York-Vermont agreement under the Transfer of Dependents Acts. This is an agreement established to facilitate the better care of nonsettled persons where settlement is a responsibility of either of the two States. This seems to be working out fairly satisfactorily. The attorneys general of both States are cooperative and much has been done to bring a semblance of orderliness into a situation which, until about 2 years ago, had become impossible. Through this agreement, local commissioners of public welfare in New York State and overseers of the poor in Vermont are able to make satisfactory arrangements either for the care of nonsettled persons or for their return to to their place of settlement.

The second aspect discussed was the relationship between Pennsylvania and New York. The difficulties in this area had arisen as the result of new legislation in Pennsylvania which stipulated that 2 years' residence must be proved by an applicant for relief before general assistance was granted in Pennsylvania. Our committee has had two discussions of this question. As a result, we have been able to secure a modifying opinion from the attorney general of the State of Pennsylvania in which he held:

> Absence from Pennsylvania for employment purposes need not be considered to invalidate the 2 years required for general assistance in Pennsylvania.

This modifying interpretation has eased the situation somewhat. although it has by no means taken away all of our problems.

Thirdly, we discussed the everrecurring subject of uniform settlement laws. In the early stages of our committee we had a feeling that there might be, by voluntary agreement, some progress made in the general direction of uniformity. The success above noted with two of our neighboring States at first strengthened our belief. We have now come to the conclusion, however, that this is a rather optimistic point of view. The lack of uniformity which now exists in relation to settlement laws is so great, and has existed for such a long period of time, that it seems to be impossible to hope for any reasonable change by the individual States on a basis of voluntary action. Administrative and court rulings over the years have naturally led to even greater difficulties than the laws themselves have produced. At the same time, we recognize that practically three-quarters of the States now have a 1-year residence requirement and this may provide the standard to which the States might ultimately be asked to conform, if the matter can be done through individual legislatures on a voluntary basis.

The fourth aspect of our discussion surrounded the growing conviction on the part of the members of the committee that, while it might be possible to solve this problem of uniform settlement laws by voluntary interstate compacts, the time element could be greatly shortened if there were developed in the United States some method of grant-in-aid. This might be conditioned, not only on the acceptance of some uniform basis, but also would allow for the development of administrative practices which would surround the actual care of the migrant.

This will give your committee an idea of the general trend of consideration which our committee is now giving this subject.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION INTO THE STATE

I understand that New York City is presenting data relative to the condition which prevails in this cosmopolitan area. I will therefore confine what observations I have to conditions as they have been reported to me in several sections of up-State New York.

The problem is not solely a matter of relief administration, although I would say this is primary. There is enough evidence to show that many people come to the State of New York as the result of industrial employment opportunities, extended opportunity for medical and hospital care, and the desirability of securing more adequate educational opportunities for children. Binghampton and Elmira, which are relatively close to the Pennsylvania border, furnish plenty of instances in which people have left the rural areas of Pennsylvania to secure treatment in the hospitals in these respective New York communities.

I am of the opinion that both temporary and long-term illness has created situations whereby the local communities of the State of New York are charged with the cost of care and, of course, the maintenance of facilities which are directly traceable to sickness. If they are not reviewed quickly and periodically, we will face a very extended financial cost, to be borne by the citizens of New York, which seems to stem directly from the fact that the very existence of those New York facilities have tended to retard the establishment of similar facilities at accessible points in other States.

It has become a custom in some communities to send patients to New York State when, as a matter of fact, there ought to be developed in those particular States facilities for dealing with their own problems. Health care is a major concern in every State in the Union, and I feel sure you gentlemen will recognize the unfairness of having one State become the provider of these necessary health facilities without having at the same time any control of, or relation to, the financial costs.

We have in the State of New York many out-of-State persons who are cared for in a variety of institutions who will never again be able to secure employment, and who are suffering from what might be classed as incurable or chronic diseases. As long as they live, these persons are likely to be a charge against the taxpayers of this State, and, because they have lost settlement, it is utterly impossible to relate the cost of care to any other State or community. I do not have the figures that bear on this subject, but I am reliably informed by the commissioner of social welfare that this constitutes an extensive problem.

CLASSES OF MIGRANTS FOUND IN STATE

I am informed by a senior social worker of the State department, who specializes in providing care for the nonsettled persons in the central part of the State, that there are three general classifications of transients in that neighborhood. The first is that group of workers usually possessing considerable initiative and ability, who leave an area of limited employment opportunities for one where they believe the opportunities to be greater. Given a sufficient period of time, they almost invariably obtain employment at prevailing local wages and become self-supporting members of the new community.

The second group is composed of those who wander from community to community without any particular aim or objective. Many of them are handicapped physically or mentally to the extent that they cannot compete with local people for available jobs. They do not have roots in any particular district, and they rarely make a satisfactory adjustment.

The third group are those elderly or inadequate persons who move to a new community under the optimistic delusion that friends and relatives will provide for them. The majority of those would be better off if they returned to the community of their origin, and they are usually the most willing to be so returned.

In dealing with the problems in this area, this worker believes that the number of such persons is increasing every month and that the number of people who might properly be returned to another State is becoming a smaller percentage of the total case load as time goes on. This is due, in his opinion, to the technicalities of settlement laws in other States, which permit the loss of a settlement without the acquisition of a new one. He also points out that this is further complicated by the fact that many people have lost their settlement through the desertion of the husband or the existence of other family unadjustments.

Finally, he refers to the fact that low standards of public-assistance care, particularly in some of the Southern States, make it almost impossible to return people to their communities without assuming serious danger to the health and well-being of the children of their families.

In the western part of the State, where my own home is located, conditions are very similar to those already described. However, they are accentuated by the fact that it is a large fruit-growing territory, which necessitates the employment of migratory workers. Here again, sickness and other questions are recognized, in addition to the general economic one, in the creation of our problems.

In the districts of Westchester and Nassau County, which are adjacent to New York City, the situation not only reflects what we know in other parts of the State, but it is intensified by many other questions which surround an area in which there is great concentration of business, and which, at the same time, is a metropolitan area having no direct relationship to State lines.

NEW YORK AREA IS ECONOMIC UNIT

If you will look at New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, you will see that there is an economic unit which operates industrially without any regard to political subdivisions or geographic-political lines. People move back and forth in this area without knowing that the mere passage from one community to another may affect their legal status, and, one might say, their civic rights. In such a metropolitan area, all of the factors to which I have already alluded become more complicated and intensified.

As a legislator, I do not have the facilities for an intimate acquaintance with the details of this problem. However, I am vitally interested in the matter from two points of view. First, as chairman of the committee on public relief and welfare of the Assembly of New York State, I am conscious of the number of communities which have to bear financial and social burdens which do not legitimately belong to them. Each year I give consideration to bills which, if they were considered purely as local matters, should be enacted into law. Unfortunately, however, if we so considered them, it would only lead to further complication in relation to the control of public welfare in the State as a whole. The net result is to create inequalities which are unfair to these specific communities.

In passing, I might point out that a further indication of the problem of special communities within the State is the existence of special 5-year settlement provisions in those communities which contain tuberculosis hospitals, veterans' facilities, and Regular Army posts. This, of course, is part of the whole interstate question, since the personnel, particularly at Army posts, is made up largely of out-of-State persons, who, upon discharge from the Army, rarely if ever return to the place of their enlistment, but settle in the community where they find themselves upon release from the Army.

HEAVY COST OF MIGRANT CARE IN STATE

I am also conscious of the fact that this problem, insofar as it relates to interstate migration, is costing the State of New York approximately $3,000,000 annually for the care of nonsettled persons whose settlement can be determined through documentary evidence as belonging within another State. But this does not begin to enumerate the costs which we bear for the care of persons who have lost their settlement over the years and who are in hospitals, institutions, and elsewhere, and the cost of whose care rests on the local community. How extensive this problem is, I do not know. It is apparently impossible to ascertain its exact nature and extent. However, it certainly exists, and the financial costs are heavy. It would be inhuman to fail to take into consideration the element of decent care for such people simply because of the existence of a State boundary. No one that I know in the State of New York is advocating the solution of this question through a process of denying people decent care.

In summing up, I would like to stress the fact that such State and local expenditures relate not only to the distribution of relief funds but have a serious bearing on health, education, police, and fire protection costs. In view of this, our committee believes that it is necessary and desirable to urge your committee to consider the establishment of some form of State grant-in-aid. By means of this, States would be relieved of an undue financial burden which, in your opinion, rightfully belongs to the Federal Government, and which, when in operation, would lead to the establishment of more uniform practices. I feel sure that this would tend to protect the rights of the individual in terms of his legal and social status. I do not presume to advise your committee with regard to all of the details which should go into such a program. This is a national question, and the longer the States individually are expected to handle it, the more complicated and costly it will become, the more the rights of individuals will be jeopardized, and the more dangerous becomes the national situation.

The **Chairman**. That is a very valuable paper, there is no question about that.

POSSIBLE RESULTS IF RELIEF GRANTED MIGRANTS

Mr. CURTIS. I appreciate Mr. Wadsworth's coming here to give us the views of someone in the State legislature on this subject.

Now, the question I am going to ask I would like to preface with this statement, so that we understand each other: I think we are all agreed that in America the destitute people should have shelter and food and clothing. It is not a debatable issue, and I think that we are agreed that the vast majority of people are not only honest but they are willing to work.

Now, if the Federal Government moves into the interstate problem more than it has, with reference to relief, at what point does relief for destitute interstate migrants become attractive to the lazy and indifferent, so as to increase the problem rather than solve it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do not believe that there is a single soul in the country that could answer that question, Congressman. I really do not. Everybody might have their personal ideas on the subject, and I think it would be largely up to the local administrators, who can spot malingerers, perhaps by pressure upon them and, through the industries in their communities, either find jobs or move them on their way. I could not tell you exactly at what point that line of demarcation would come.

I agree that there would be that danger for the type of person who would rather stay on relief than do anything else, but what percentage of the total unemployed of the country is made up of that type of person I do not believe that anybody can tell you.

Do you believe—if I may ask you a question—do you believe that it would increase that percentage, or is it your fear that it might?

Mr. CURTIS. I do not know. I think this: That we might create a situation wherein, though someone was willing to work, he would take a longer chance in going away from home thinking that he might get a week or two of work and still see the country, if there was no fear that they might have difficulties in getting relief if they found themselves in destitute circumstances.

I am inclined to the view that the poor, needy people can be handled better for their own good in that community where they are known and where their families have been known for some time.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am in complete agreement with you on that.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Subject to this, Mr. Wadsworth, that there are places in the United States where there is soil erosion; in the Dust Bowl, where the ground has been plowed for many years, where it has lost all of its fertility, creating circumstances over which they have no control, it is pretty hard to keep those people home. There is nothing to keep them.

Mr. WADSWORTH. You can't keep them home.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it is subject to that. There is no question but what that is correct. They would love to stay home, but this committee is up against this proposition; they just cannot make it there, that is all that there is to it.

Mr. CURTIS. I might say, to clarify the record, my question was referring to the individual and not dealing with that problem in those territories from which through force of circumstances we have had a forced mass exodus.

Mr. Wadsworth. Right along that line, Congressman, does not that very Dust Bowl situation accentuate the problem in the States to which they do move?

The Chairman. Certainly.

Mr. Wadsworth. And therefore wouldn't it be a little better for the Federal Government to take some part in keeping them going than to have that State to which they move carry the whole load?

The Chairman. That is the very province of this committee as a fact-finding body—to determine the facts first; and then we would like your recommendations, and various witnesses' recommendations, and then we will have to vote on them.

GRANT-IN-AID PLAN SHOULD SAFEGUARD STATES' RIGHT

Mr. Wadsworth. Could I inject one more thing, just on my own initiative, and not representing the interstate cooperation committee?

I believe that most of the administrators who have appeared, and will appear, before you will be more or less in favor of the Federal grant-in-aid. However, I do not think that I need to say that in a completely nonpartisan way, a great many State administrators at the same time have a certain fear that Federal participation in these costs might lead to unreasonable Federal encroachment upon their administrative systems. We have had some examples of it here in New York State, and I would personally urge that if such a grant-in-aid principle is adopted in the future after all of your hearings are done and your deliberation is over, that every effort be made to safeguard the individual States against such encroachments.

Mr. Parsons. Would you have the Federal Government contribute the entire amount to the States?

Mr. Wadsworth. No, sir; I would not.

Mr. Parsons. What percentage of the total cost would you have the Federal Government contribute?

Mr. Wadsworth. I would say 75 percent; that is my own, and not the committee's recommendation. That is my own idea, and I think that Commissioner Adie is more in favor of 90 percent on the part of the Federal Government, but I feel as long as there is some local responsibility they are not going to treat this as a blank check.

Mr Parsons. That was my fear about the matter. We had a witness yesterday afternoon, while he did not state any definite percentage of funds, he rather inferred that practically the entire load should be carried by the Federal Government.

Mr. Wadsworth. I feel that that would be very dangerous.

Mr. Parsons. And my fear was that if that was the case, we would have quite a roving band of migrants seeing America first, at the expense of Uncle Sam.

Mr. Wadsworth. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do you share that same fear?

Mr. Wadsworth. I do not know that I would go quite that far but I can sympathize with that idea.

Mr. Parsons. What provoked my fear in that regard was my observation of relief clients who had had teams, machinery, chickens, cows, large gardens, and things like that, sold them all, and abandoned the garden and everything else, in order to go on relief. I know of hundreds of cases of that by personal observation, and if that would happen in the case of relief, when all they had to do was to go out and go to work in the spring time, and raise at least enough to eat for half the year—if they would abandon all of that for relief and W. P. A., they would certainly abandon their domiciles and start seeing the country, especially if the Federal Government was contributing all of the cost and expense of making the trip.

Mr. Wadsworth. There would be that temptation, and I imagine a great many would succumb to it.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Wadsworth, I was very much interested in your statement and in your answers to these questions, but let me ask you this: You surely would advocate that if the Federal Government takes hold of the problem, relief measures would start back at the origin of the migration and that it would do as much as possible to alleviate the conditions that produce the migration, in those economically depressed areas, would you not?

Mr. Wadsworth. Oh, yes; that would be the ideal way of doing it.

Mr. Sparkman. Such as farm security rehabilitation work, and building up the resources at the points of origin, so as to deter those factors that economically push the people out.

Mr. Wadsworth. I should think that any Federal action in this regard should be based upon that, at least as one of the conditions whereby a State could qualify to get this grant-in-aid.

Mr. Sparkman. I was interested in your statement too, that you thought the Federal Government should contribute 75 percent and the State 25 percent. Don't you realize that such a plan as that would work absolutely against relief measures in these sections from which our migrants are moving, inasmuch as those are the areas that are hardest pressed economically, and less able to contribute to such a program?

Mr. Wadsworth. No; I can't quite admit that.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, were you here yesterday?

Mr. Wadsworth. No; I was not.

Mr. Sparkman. We had a very interesting display of charts yesterday to show that the origin of this migration was the same as those areas where economic opportunities were less, and of course I am sure that you will agree that that must be true.

Mr. Wadsworth. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, if that is true, isn't it logical to suppose that those same areas would not be able to participate in a Federal program?

Mr. Wadsworth. Certainly not to the extent that the better-off areas could, but I think that they would, if they got 75 percent of the cost.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, now, I happen to come from one of those areas, and I know the hardship that we have had. For example, the old-age assistance program, and in other programs such as that—I know the difficulty which our States have met in attempting to match these Federal funds, and to my own way of thinking no system requiring matching of funds by States, except perhaps on some basis that that State could meet, will solve the problem, because the result will be that your more fortunate States with larger budgets will be able to care for the problem adequately by matching the Federal funds, whereas the very States in which the problem arises, with much smaller budgets and high educational charges, and all of those things—in trying to maintain their own governmental functions, those sections will be less able to participate.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Well, I will have to plead guilty, Congressman, to a good deal of selfishness in this matter. In other words, I would far rather see New York and the Eastern States have a little of this burden lifted right now than see a State, for instance, that you come from, get back on its own feet in this long-drawn-out manner.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not ask the question as I do for the purpose of even suggesting that my State be helped to get back on its feet, or Oklahoma, or Arkansas, or any other State from which these migrants come; but I am looking at it this way, that your problem is not going to be relieved, and California's problem is not going to be relieved, and the problem of any other State to which these migrants go is not going to be relieved, unless the relief is applied back home, where these people are moving from.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In other words, detour the movement rather than take care of the movers.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is right, stop it there, rather than wait until the added transportation cost is added, and take care of them somewhere in a transient camp.

Mr. WADSWORTH. There would be no objection to that as far as our State is concerned. There could be no objection, and if such a grant-in-aid would deter any such help in our own State, then perhaps we ought to wait and see what could be done.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We are just starting out on this investigation, and all I am doing is just speaking out loud in connection with the thoughts that you have advanced in your paper, but it seems to me that probably by extending rural rehabilitation work, by doing something to prevent this soil erosion, and by an active program carried on by all of those Federal agencies, a great part of this migration can be stopped, and therefore the expense ultimately incurred when people have become destitute migrants will be smaller.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I see.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

DOES NOT ADVOCATE REPEAL OF ALL SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to ask Mr. Wadsworth's opinion on some testimony that we had yesterday. The administrator of public assistance of the State of Rhode Island thinks generally along the lines that you do, from the State standpoint, only instead of advocating a standardization of settlement laws as you have, say of 1-year settlement laws, he advocated, as I recall his testimony—I have not a transcript of it—the abolition of all settlement laws, so that the moment a resident of a State such as New York moved into the State of New Jersey there would not be any settlement law there to bother him at all, and the Federal Government should provide grants-in-aid to the State to assist in the problem.

Now, do you believe that we should abolish all settlement laws? I ask that question because I can see, by the trend of our work here, that we are going to come more and more upon the question of settlement laws.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I would not advocate abolition of settlement laws.

Mr. OSMERS. You would not?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to make it as uniform as possible, is that right?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; whether it be 1 or 2 or any set number of years, that might seem the fairest to all concerned.

MAINTAINS PROGRAM SHOULD BE GRANTS-IN-AID

Mr. OSMERS. Now, another witness who appeared here was the mayor of the city of New York, and as I remember his testimony, again without a transcript of it, he advocated that this be made a Federal program and not a grant-in-aid program to the States. Now, if I have that wrong I wish one of the members of the committee who was here would straighten me out on that.

Now, that is directly contrary to your own opinion that it be a grant-in-aid program.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I disagree with the mayor on that because if it is solely a Federal program the responsibility of the individual care will be taken away completely from the local officers.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you believe that we would run into difficulties should we establish a straight Federal program, Federal administered and all, by having different relief standards by the Federal Government than we would have by local government?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It would be chaos.

Mr. OSMERS. For example, if the State of New York were operating its relief on one standard, and the Federal Government should come along with an entirely separate program, do you feel that there would be a great deal of confusion, dissatisfaction, and moving about that we would have some reliefers from New York moving over to New Jersey to get on the Federal program?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I would say the use of the term "confusion" is an understatement there. It would be impossible to administer, in my opinion. You would have to build up a tremendous bureaucracy to take care of it, whereas you are already discussing agencies who know their problems locally, and they are the only ones, in my opinion, who are fit to take care of people in their own communities.

Mr. OSMERS. Just in passing, I say that I agree with your contention there.

Now, the administrator of public assistance of the State of Rhode Island told us that he thought it was a wise thing and an advisable thing to take a man that was on relief in a depressed area, we will say, in Oklahoma, and have him moved to the State of California, or Illinois, or New York, or to one of the so-called more prosperous States, even if he was a reliefer when he left Oklahoma and became a reliefer when he arrived at his point of destination.

Do you think that that is an advisable thing or a good thing?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I had never even thought of such a thing, frankly. I don't see what particular good would come of it.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, trying to read something into his testimony, his thought was that a man from Oklahoma would be better off in the State of New York as to his eventual future. He would be near more opportunity, closer to greater sources of wealth, and so on. That was his viewpoint, even though he was a relief client the minute he got here.

Mr. Wadsworth. I think that that would really result in exactly what the gentleman next to you was talking about: Completely denude the State of Oklahoma, and doing nothing at all to keep people in the type of life to which they are accustomed. I don't see how you are going to take a dirt farmer from Oklahoma and put him into Westchester County in a suburban area, just because later on perhaps his opportunity or even the opportunity for his children might be better, because that goes into direct competition with the local people who want jobs there, besides putting more load on New York State.

DISCUSSES MIGRATION TO OBTAIN BETTER RELIEF

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel—and this is my last line of thought—do you feel that the fact that relief in some areas has been more attractive than low-grade employment has led to a great deal of migration on the part of the destitute citizens?

Mr. Wadsworth. I think your key words there are the words "great deal." I do not know that there is any survey that would give you figures on that subject. There is no question that it happens to a certain degree. There is no question that it happens, for instance, when we have transients or migrants who have a settlement in other States and they say, "For God's sake don't send us back there because even if we did get a job we would only get $4 or $5 a week, and on relief we can't get anything, and we are starving anyway," so that, to some extent, at least, migration stems from low-grade employment, and perhaps New York State relief is more attractive to them.

Mr. Osmers. Take my own State of New Jersey, which is wedged between Philadelphia and New York, those large cities; we don't have much problem at the end of our migrant work emergency-seasonal period, because our relief laws are rather stiff over there, and they are administered very carefully by local relief administrators, and they (migrants) move to New York or Philadelphia because their chances are better there of getting along on the relief systems than they are in New Jersey.

Mr. Wadsworth. That is perfectly right. That is what happens.

Mr. Osmers. That is all.

The Chairman. Mr. Wadsworth, I wonder if you would agree with me on something along this line: That there is no complete answer to this gigantic problem that is confronting us, that is, the migratory problem. There is no complete answer, but do you not agree with me that in cases of mass migration to the States of destination where it becomes such a burden that the State cannot handle it without Federal aid or Federal assistance, the Federal Government should participate, to a certain extent anyway?

Mr. Wadsworth. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. In other words, the Federal Government isn't any stronger than the 48 States?

Mr. Wadsworth. That is correct.

The Chairman. And if New York went broke, and California went broke, and some other States went broke, that would not help the Federal Government in taking care of migrant citizens?

Mr. Wadsworth. No, sir.

The Chairman. In other words, you feel that it is a national problem, don't you?

Mr. Wadsworth. Completely.

The Chairman. And just how far we should go, that is for the committee to recommend finally?

Mr. Wadsworth. That is right.

The Chairman. I want to say to you, Mr. Wadsworth, we will report to your much-loved father and our colleague that you handled yourself very creditably, and we are all very fond of him, and we like him and we will report progress on your part.

Mr. Wadsworth. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF FRANK W. GOODHUE, DIRECTOR DIVISION OF AID AND RELIEF OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Osmers. Mr. Goodhue, will you come forward?

The next witness will be Mr. Frank W. Goodhue, director of the division of aid and relief, State Department of Public Welfare of Massachusetts.

Mr. Goodhue. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I would like to say that I am representing Mr. Arthur G. Roche, commissioner of public welfare of Massachusetts, this morning, because Mr. Roche was unfortunately unable to come himself.

For the purpose of identifying myself, I think that I could say that I have been employed by the State department of public welfare since February 1, 1900, and as director of the division of aid and relief since 1912. I was chairman of the committee on interstate problems of the American Public Welfare Association from September 1930 until 1936.

In Massachusetts we do not meet any serious problems in connection with migration, and especially in relation to seasonal occupations. I shall, therefore, address this committee more particularly in relation to the question of the transients who come to Massachusetts and soon require public assistance.

I do not know whether you make distinction between transients and migrants.

Mr. Osmers. We have not so far, Mr. Goodhue.

ADVOCATES GOVERNMENT COOPERATION

Mr. Goodhue (reading). The first point I should like to make is that I believe there is every reason why the Federal Government should cooperate with the States in the migrant or transient problem, because of its being an interstate problem. I would even go so far as to expand my recommendation to include the cooperation of the Federal Government, through an amendment to the social-security law, to include Federal grants to States in connection with general relief. Such action, together with necessary changes in the State laws would, in my opinion, tend to prevent, or cause to be unnecessary, the amount of migration which is now evident.

Migration must be very harmful to many families because of the interruption of the education of the children, and it must also involve many health problems.

Migration will continue to be a large problem in many sections of the country unless there is a provision in every State for the granting of some form of public assistance, regardless of the migrants' legal settlement status or the period of time in which they have been a resident of the State.

During my service as chairman of the committee on interstate problems of the American Public Welfare Association, the work of the committee in relation to the transfer of dependent persons between States was successfully completed.

The following resolution was adopted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws:

> *Resolved, by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, at its forty-fifth annual conference held in Los Angeles, Calif., on this 13th day of July 1935,* That the act known as the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act be, and the same is hereby, adopted and approved as a uniform act, and that the act is now recommended to the legislatures of the various States, the Territory of Alaska, the Territory of Hawaii, the District of Columbia, and the insular possessions of the United States, for enactment, and that it be reported to the American Bar Association for its approval.

The act was subsequently approved by the American Bar Association at its annual meeting held in Los Angeles, Calif., July 16–19, 1935, and recommended to the States for adoption. The act follows:

UNIFORM TRANSFER OF DEPENDENTS ACT

AN ACT Concerning reciprocal agreements for the interstate transportation and the support of poor and indigent persons, and to make uniform the law with reference thereto

Be it enacted, etc. (Use the proper enacting clause for the State.)

SECTION 1. (Reciprocal agreements.) The (department of public welfare), subject to the approval of the attorney general, is hereby authorized to enter into reciprocal agreements with corresponding State agencies of other States regarding the interstate transportation of poor and indigent persons, and to arrange with the proper officials in this State for the acceptance, transfer, and support of persons receiving public aid in other States in accordance with the terms of such reciprocal agreements; provided that this State shall not nor shall any county or other political subdivision of this State be committed to the support of persons who are not in the opinion of said (department of public welfare) entitled to public support by the laws of this State.

SEC. 2. (Uniformity of interpretation.) This Act shall be so interpreted and construed as to effectuate its general purpose to make uniform the laws of those States which enact it.

SEC. 3. (Short title.) This Act may be cited as the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act.

SEC. 4. (Time of taking effect.) This Act shall take effect * * *.

The committee believed that there should be centralization of authority in State departments of public welfare regarding the transfer of public dependents between States and that there should be elimination of settlement laws as a basis of transfer of public dependents between States and the adoption of reciprocal agreements should be based on a period of residence and absence.

We did not establish any definite period of time but it was suggested that, notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the settlement laws of the various States are 1 year or less, for the purpose of transfer between States a period of 1 year was not a sufficient period of time, and we therefore recommended that a period of 3 years' residence in a State and an absence of less than 1 year would be a good basis for a reciprocal agreement.

The American Public Welfare Association has established a form of reciprocal agreement which is broad enough in its scope to be adaptable to any State.

This Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act received much consideration at the Interstate Conference on Transients and Settlement Laws, held in Trenton, N. J., March 6 and 7, 1936; at the meeting of the Council of State Governments' interstate commission on social security held in Atlantic City on June 26 and 27, 1936, and at the Midwestern Conference on Transiency and Settlement Laws held in St. Paul, Minn., on March 11 and 12, 1937.

I assume that the American Public Welfare Association will be represented before this committee. The association has on file all of the annual reports of the committee on interstate problems to which I have referred, as well as the reports of the other conferences.

I might say that I have copies here if the committee would wish them.

I would also refer this committee to the annual reports of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws from 1929 to 1935, inclusive.

DISCUSSES ABOLISHMENT OF SETTLEMENT LAWS

There appears to be a division of opinion as to the advisability of the continuance or discontinuance of legal settlement laws, which is an important factor in the consideration of the migrant problem. Some recommend a continued effort to establish uniform settlement laws throughout the United States, while others believe that a very advanced step would be made if settlement laws could be eliminated.

Mr. Parsons. Mr. Chairman, right at that point, which of those two suggestions do you agree with? Should we eliminate them entirely, or codify them informally?

Mr. Goodhue. I personally believe in the elimination of settlement laws. I hope to see the day when that can be done.

The question of the desirability of a uniform settlement law was referred to the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in 1929, and after the matter was given a committee consideration it was deemed inadvisable to attempt to prepare a draft of an act for a uniform State law on this subject.

In all of my contacts, however, including attendance at conferences, I think I can fairly state that, whether or not there should be an effort to establish uniform settlement laws throughout the United States, or whether settlement laws should be eliminated, it has been generally agreed that the shortest method of establishing interstate relationships for the transfer of public dependents is the enactment of the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act by each State and the establishment of reciprocal agreements.

Personally, I believe in the administration by local, city, town, or county boards of public welfare of the three principal categories of public assistance; namely, general relief, old-age assistance, and aid to dependent children, with State supervision and a fixed percentage of reimbursement by the Commonwealth to include Federal grants, which in Massachusetts are allocated to cities and towns by the State department of public welfare.

Under such a system, every individual or family could be provided for by the city or town in which he falls into distress, which would make unnecessary the continuance of legal settlement laws.

In a consideration of this suggestion, questions have arisen regarding migration between cities and towns within the borders of the State. The remedy for such a situation would, in my opinion, be the retention of legal settlement laws for the purpose of preventing unfair migration only within the borders of each State, and the elimination of the settlement laws as a factor in the financial relationships of the cities and towns and the Commonwealth.

Under such a system, it would seem to me that eventually categorical relief could be eliminated because of the possibility of greater uniformity of administration through State supervision, and also, I should have added, through Federal contacts.

Existing laws in a few States create very difficult conditions for the migrant. For example, it is my understanding that any person who returns to the State of Pennsylvania will be unable to secure public assistance until such time as he has completed a residence of 2 years prior to his application for such assistance, and in Illinois there is a 3-year requirement.

I was very glad to hear Mr. Wadsworth's statement that that had been modified in Pennsylvania a bit because it is a very serious situation in relation to entering into any agreement with the State of Pennsylvania, regarding equitable transfer between States.

During the year December 1, 1938, to November 30, 1939, the State Department of Public Welfare of Massachusetts received requests to accept 1,166 cases, including individuals and families from other States, and requested other States to accept 187 cases. That is largely because we have a 5-year settlement law, and most of the other States have a 1-year law. I am opposed to the 5-year provision.

During this period, acceptance of 524 cases from other States was approved, and we received acceptance from other States in 120 cases.

Massachusetts has enacted an act relative to the interstate transportation of poor and indigent persons (chap. 167 of the Acts of 1934). It has not as yet negotiated reciprocal agreements with other States, but expects to take such action within the very near future.

Mr. OSMERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Goodhue. That is a very good statement.

POSSIBLE AMENDMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY LAW

There are several questions that have arisen in my mind. Did you state that you believe that the social-security law should be amended to include Federal grants to States in connection with general relief?

Now, I presume that that is the so-called home relief that we have today.

Mr. GOODHUE. Home relief or direct relief.

Mr. OSMERS. That is paid for entirely by State and local governments throughout the United States; is that the form of it?

Mr. GOODHUE. In Massachusetts, in our general relief, the burden is borne by the cities and towns caring wholly for their settled cases, and the State reimburses them in full for their unsettled cases.

Mr. OSMERS. For their unsettled cases?

Mr. GOODHUE. Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** But just to make that one point clear, the State of Massachusetts does not participate in the relief of the settled person in Springfield, Mass.; the city of Springfield would take care of that?

Mr. **Goodhue.** If they have a settlement in any town or city, that is correct.

Mr. **Osmers.** Now, should I imply, or should the committee imply, from your statement, that you feel that Federal relief through W. P. A. projects at the present time is inadequate, or should be abandoned, or should that run right along with assistance under the social-security law?

Mr. **Goodhue.** Well, of course, I am rather in favor of the system under the E. R. A. more than I am under the present W. P. A. I believe it is much better to have the local projects supervised by the cities and towns than the present system. We thought the E. R. A. was better than the W. P. A.

Mr. **Osmers.** In other words, may I say this, that in your opinion you felt that the Federal Government's entrance into the relief problem should be of a purely financial nature, should not go into the supervision of projects, and the approval of projects?

Mr. **Goodhue.** We have no objection, if they (the Federal Government) enter into the general-relief situation, to their making the same effort to help improve the standards which we feel have been greatly improved through our contacts with them in the old-age assistance and aid to dependent children. We believe that if, eventually, they would come into a general relief program, we will be able to establish better standards than we would be able to under our own motion, without the assistance of the Federal Government, and especially if there are grants-in-aid.

Mr. **Osmers.** I presume that, if the Federal Government should enter into the general-relief situation, it would set certain standards which the States would have to observe in order to become eligible to receive that money, but other than that there would be a purely financial entrance into the situation under your recommendations of using county and city and local administration?

Mr. **Goodhue.** Exactly the same relationship as they now have under the act for providing aid to dependent children.

Mr. **Osmers.** And not under the W. P. A.?

Mr. **Goodhue.** I think that we favor—I think in the department we favor the old E. R. A. system more than we would the W. P. A. system.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do you feel that there has been dissatisfaction, created by the different standards of relief granted by the W. P. A., as compared to those granted by the locality?

Mr. **Goodhue.** Well, the W. P. A. standard is not quite as high as the State standard.

Mr. **Osmers.** In your State?

Mr. **Goodhue.** In our State, and as a State department. Many of the local boards have standards lower than the W. P. A., so that it is quite a varied problem.

Mr. **Osmers.** I know that it is, and I believe in instances where local relief is less than W. P. A. there has been considerable friction?

Mr. **Goodhue.** I remember that I had quite a tussle with one of the large cities near Boston, and asked them if they would finally agree to adopt even the W. P. A. standard, which was higher than theirs, but was not quite as high as ours, and they finally said that they would agree. I felt that that was one step in advance.

MANY STATES HAVE PASSED UNIFORM LAW

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Goodhue, how many States in the Union have adopted the recommended Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act?

Mr. GOODHUE. I will have to refer you to the American Public Welfare Association, because I have not been on their Committee on Interstate Problems since 1936, and I think there has been quite a number come in since them. I notice, and I have with me the last news letter of the association in which they said that New Jersey and Virginia, and I think possibly Louisiana and one other State, had come in recently.

We in New England—Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts—adopted that law, which enabled us to make reciprocal agreements, and we are getting to a point where, through a session that was held by the American Public Welfare Association last winter, I think it was, we are endeavoring now to get together to form those agreements if we can.

I think that you will find that there is quite a constantly increasing movement in relation to those reciprocal agreements. I worked for 5 years on one point, and I said that a big program never would get over, but I would try to get that reciprocal agreement of Transfer of Dependents Act, and I accomplished it by getting both the National Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and the American Bar Association to approve it, and then I resigned.

Mr. OSMERS. On page 5 of your statement, Mr. Goodhue, in the third paragraph, you said:

> Under such a system it would seem to me that eventually categorical relief could be eliminated because of greater uniformity of administration through State supervision.

Would you amplify that a little bit, particularly the "categorical relief" part?

Mr. GOODHUE. I would like to explain what I mean by that. Massachusetts—perhaps that is all that I am qualified to speak about. I think that I have been so long in the Department that I had a feeling that general relief is sort of a neglected child, and it would have been my belief, perhaps, in the beginning, away back when they first enacted what we called then a mother's-aid law, which is now on aid-to-dependent-children law, that it would be wise to take our whole relief program and try to improve it as a whole. But after all of these years I would have to admit that I doubt very much if we would have improved the standards of the aid to dependent children and old age assistance laws to the present high standard by giving consideration to the whole relief problem, whereas we have raised to a very high standard both of those categories by individualizing and creating separate bureaus of old-age assistance in each city and town in Massachusetts.

Of course, the aid-to-dependent-children law is still administered by the local boards of public welfare, and we have improved the standards to the extent that I think that we in Massachusetts stand second or third in old-age-assistance grants. And I think that we are ranked pretty well in aid to dependent children. I think that that is because we have individualized and specialized on the problem, and I find myself meeting myself against my original feeling that we should have attacked the whole problem, but I feel that we have left this poor general relief problem in the lurch, and that it very much needs the movement to strengthen the standardization basis.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, you would say that you would favor eliminating categorical general relief and not necessarily including aid to dependent children?

Mr. GOODHUE. I would not recommend it at this time. I would recommend that the Federal Government come into general relief, and then I think, probably as a result of our experience after a few years, that will resolve itself, perhaps, into that, if we raise the standards of general relief so that we are satisfied in all of the categories.

Mr. OSMERS. I think that that is all. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CURTIS. In the last paragraph of page 5, you point out that during 1 year your State was called upon to take care of 1,166 individuals, families from other States, and had requested other States to accept 187 cases.

Now, that would indicate that the movement in your State had been outward rather than inward, would it not?

Mr. GOODHUE. Because of the tremendous difference in settlement laws, because we have a 5-year provision, like most of the New England States, and because the other States have less of a provision, that is the reason why there is that difference.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, would the abolition or the elimination of settlement laws in all States work to the advantage of the State where the movement was outward, and to the disadvantage of the State where the movement was inward?

UNIFORM TRANSFER LAW AVOIDS PROBLEMS OF SETTLEMENT

Mr. GOODHUE. Under the reciprocal-agreement basis, you make a basis which is uniform between the two negotiating States, so that there must be a period of residence and absence which you have agreed upon as equal for the States, regardless of settlement laws. We can do that now under this special provision of the legislature by which we can make these reciprocal agreements regardless of settlement laws, so that whether we eliminate settlement laws or not, the reciprocal agreement can be the basis of transfer between the two States, if we decided that we will agree upon the period of residence in which that person is entitled to come back, and if he has not been absent also for a certain period of time. It is very simple, A-B-C proposition. I wonder that I never thought of it before.

Mr. CURTIS. We are going to run into this problem. I came from a State, part of which has been referred to as the Dust Bowl area. We have lost a lot of people in the last 10 years. Some of our counties have had as high as a 20-percent loss.

Many of those people have gone to the State of the chairman of this committee, Mr. Tolan, of California. There would be no object in a simple agreement between Nebraska and California—because California people have never come to Nebraska—eliminating settlement laws, and establishing the lines of reciprocal agreements. What

I am wondering is, if that would be to the advantage of States where the movement is outward and to the disadvantage of States where the movement is inward?

Mr. GOODHUE. My answer to that is that I think that there is only a negligible number of States where you are facing a severe problem on this migration, which would be California, and Florida, and some of the midwestern States. And it would seem to me that in the majority of States that problem does not arise ordinarily. I suppose that we legislate for the majority, and take care of the individual situation on a separate basis, but in general I would feel that the majority of the problem could be cared for by a proper reciprocal agreement, even though those resettlement laws may not be eliminated. It would seem to me that the various States would not lose so many of these migrants if they have reasonable relief laws, because there is no reason why they should interrupt their family life and go to other States.

True, it would increase the relief problem in some of those States, but if the Federal Government—because it is a problem which I think, from my own point of view, is one for the Federal Government—there is more reason why they should come into this problem than any other, and then it seems to me that they ought to share a considerable portion of that burden.

I would like to file with the committee, if I may, a report of the division of statistics of our State department of labor and industry, which I think you might find interesting in relation to seasonal employment, which affects us in Massachusetts, from the migrant point of view. The 1939 report of the division of statistics of the Department of Labor and Industries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is now in the hands of the printer and will be available later.

(Report of the division of statistics of the Department of Labor and Industries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for year ending November 30, 1938, received in evidence, was filed with the committee and not printed.)

Mr. GOODHUE. I would like also to file a tabulation that we have made of general relief in Massachusetts for each of those three principal categories for the year 1939.

Mr. OSMERS. The committee will be very happy to have these documents on file, and also your 1939 labor and industries report.

Mr. GOODHUE. They may want to refer to Mr. Phelps, who is in charge of statistics, for our latest bulletin, which he issued, which will give you a lot of information about our W. P. A.

(Two volumes of aid and relief statistics, Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, were received in evidence. The documents were filed with the committee and not printed.)

Mr. OSMERS. That will be included. Are there any other questions?

Mr. PARSONS. What is the amount that you give in direct relief, say to a family of six?

Mr. GOODHUE. Well, of course, the administration is local by cities and towns, and, of course, it does vary. We would, in the State, in making up our recommendation of what we think ought to be given in an unsettled case, which the local board still has a right to ignore or approve, base it on a budget, and figure it according to the ages of the children, and so forth, and, according to the Community Health Association budget which is established in Boston, every 6 months.

RATES OF RELIEF IN MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. PARSONS. About what would be the average in the State of Massachusetts, that is, approximately?

Mr. GOODHUE. Our average in aid to dependent children cases is pretty nearly $60 a month. We have over 10,000 cases.

Mr. PARSONS. $10 per person per month.

Mr. GOODHUE. And the average family would be about a mother with three dependent children under 18 years.

Mr. PARSONS. So that is a higher standard——

Mr. GOODHUE. It is a higher standard than most States.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that given as direct relief to them in cash?

Mr. GOODHUE. It has to be in cash because of the Federal program, and we had to legislate that because of the Federal Social Security Act.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you pay it every week or every 2 weeks?

Mr. GOODHUE. Let me say this, that one reason why it is higher is because, in figuring the budget, while we do not exclude food or any of the things in which the whole family participates, we do not include the other members of the family. We include all of the children up to 21 years of age, and in fact over 21 so far as the food is concerned, and we only separate it and give them general relief when they are members who are beyond 18 years of age and have to have medical care or some personal needs in which the family does not participate.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, here is a family, now—you say your average is $60 per month, and the family of six. Supposing that someone in that family has earned $30 during that month?

Mr. GOODHUE. Sixty percent of that would be taken out and 40 percent would be left in general for their personal needs, clothing, and so forth.

Mr. PARSONS. Then in that case, they would have earned $30 during that month and you would only take off 60 percent of that, and leave 40 percent, and it would supplement their budget by that much additional.

Mr. GOODHUE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any difficulty with the cases—have you gone back to examine the individual cases, to see whether or not the higher rate of direct relief tends to keep them from applying for positions, or accepting low-paid wages, or do you insist on them taking whatever employment is offered to them or you eliminate the relief?

Mr. GOODHUE. We attempt to, of course, require the local boards to give them every possible assistance in getting employment, and so forth.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, now, supposing that an individual does not accept that employment?

Mr. GOODHUE. Then the man of the family, if he is in that frame of mind, we would recommend that he be taken into court for nonsupport.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you had any of those cases taken into court?

Mr. GOODHUE. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Any appreciable number?

Mr. GOODHUE. It has not been an appreciable number, but such cases have been taken in, and generally have resulted in conviction by the court.

Mr. PARSONS. Has your State considered a State program of public works or employment of any kind whereby you would put to work on some projects those of the family receiving direct aid who were able to work?

Mr. GOODHUE. A great deal of work has been done by the cities and towns through programs and through cooperation with other town departments, because we have a provision of law in Massachusetts whereby, for our general relief, a person is required to give service for the aid rendered, if so requested.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you not think it is better, in the cases of those who are on direct relief, that if there is a worker in the family, he should be required to work out the relief money rather than be given direct aid.

Mr. GOODHUE. Well, it practically amounts to that. The law says that he may be required to give service for the aid received, and he is assigned to another town department or city department to do certain work, and he has to report as to his service, and so forth.

Mr. PARSONS. But you don't work all of them?

Mr. GOODHUE. It all depends on the condition. We expect them to work, those that are reasonably able to. In some places they have not the type of work which we think would be suitable for the individual, perhaps, but in general it is expected that we will receive a reasonable amount of work.

Mr. PARSONS. How long has the State of Massachusetts been giving direct aid?

Mr. GOODHUE. We go back, I guess, probably 2 or 3 hundred years on that.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, with State contribution?

Mr. GOODHUE. No; the State came into it in the Colonial times. Because of the burden becoming so great that the villages could not stand it, the provincial government had to come in and make a provincial appropriation, and we have developed that to the point where now we are reimbursing the cities and towns. They were expending, in 1929, about $22,000,000 for general relief, and we reimbursed them, I would say, probably $5,000,000 of that $22,000,000.

ELIMINATION OF SETTLEMENT LAWS RECOMMENDED

Now we are recommending the elimination of settlement laws, that is, it is a matter that is going to receive consideration, and by the elimination of settlement laws make a flat provision for reimbursement of 75 percent by the Commonwealth. And we hope that that will have some favorable consideration eventually with respect to all categories of relief.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you found that your direct relief operation has in any way weakened the morale of your people who have been on relief—of the younger generation growing up?

Mr. GOODHUE. I would not say that, no, sir. I will say this, that as compared with 1938, in 1939 the cities and towns spent $2,000,000 less for general relief than they did in 1938.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Any other questions?

I would just like to ask you one question in connection with your earlier statement.

You are, of course, aware of these large numbers of people that have left the Dust Bowl and gone to either Florida or California. If the Federal Government should decide upon a program to aid the States in caring for this problem, would you advise that these people be returned to the States of their origin or be allowed to remain in the States to which they have gone?

Mr. GOODHUE. Personally, I believe it is a case where the decision ought to be on the individual basis. I don't believe that we should decide that on the mass action. I think that that ought to be dealt with according to the individual case.

Mr. OSMERS. Each migrant?

Mr. GOODHUE. Yes; because I believe that they may go there because they have a relative that they want to be near, or a woman may become a widow, and she may move there because she has relatives there, and there are many problems which I believe should be taken into consideration.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any further questions on the part of the Committee?

If not, we thank you very much for your contribution, Mr. Goodhue.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MARK S. KENNEDY, 47 EAST ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Kennedy is our next witness.

Mr. Kennedy, where were you born?

Mr. KENNEDY. Kansas City.

Mr. OSMERS. When?

Mr. KENNEDY. 1914.

Mr. OSMERS. Where have you spent most of your life?

Mr. KENNEDY. Chicago.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you married?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have any children?

Mr. KENNEDY. No; but I expect one next month some time.

Mr. OSMERS. What education have you had?

Mr. KENNEDY. Roughly, 3 years college.

Mr. OSMERS. When did you complete your school education? Will you please speak a little louder? When did you complete your educational training?

Mr. KENNEDY. My last year in school was 1937.

Mr. OSMERS. Now tell me what education has Mrs. Kennedy had?

Mr. KENNEDY. She is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, School of Speech and Drama.

Mr. OSMERS. When did you come to New York?

Mr. KENNEDY. In February of 1939.

Mr. OSMERS. Under what circumstances did you and your wife come to New York?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, she came with a Federal-theater project, the Swing Mikado, and I came prior to her about a week or so, to work for a magazine in New York.

Mr. OSMERS. To work for what?

Mr. KENNEDY. To work for a magazine in New York. It is supposed to be published.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the name?

Mr. KENNEDY. The Tattler is the name, a revival of an old magazine published in New York several years ago.

Mr. OSMERS. But it never was published the second time?

Mr. KENNEDY. No; not by the persons who were supposed to publish it. The man with the money seemed to have absconded with his own funds and so the project fell through.

Mr. OSMERS. What happened to this Federal-theater project?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, the facts in the case are very simple. The Federal-theater project, that particular project, the Swing Mikado, was sold to private industry—the Marland Corporation—some time in April of 1939, and it ran for approximately a month thereafter.

Mr. OSMERS. As a private enterprise?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes; and then it folded up.

Mr. OSMERS. And when you say it folded up, may I ask, had Mrs. Kennedy gone with the cast as a member or employee of this private enterprise or had she remained a Federal employee?

Mr. KENNEDY. There was no choice in that case. It was a compulsory thing. The policy there seemed to have been that you either accepted private employment if you were on W. P. A., or you were no longer connected with the Federal project.

Mr. OSMERS. May I ask this question: If you were given the option of ceasing your connection with W. P. A. or becoming a member of this privately paid cast, and were also provided with transportation back to Chicago if you wished it, what would you have chosen to do?

Mr. KENNEDY. There was no choice.

Mr. KENNEDY. There were no examples like that.

Mr. OSMERS. They all went right along with the private enterprise?

Mr. KENNEDY. There was no choice.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, at the conclusion of the private Swing Mikado, what did you do?

Mr. KENNEDY. What did she do?

Mr. OSMERS. What did she do, or both of you do?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, before that I was, of course, waiting for this magazine to be published, and in the meantime I was doing spot news for various national Negro newspapers, selling a couple of pictures to national magazines, and doing some commercial photography in New York.

After the Swing Mikado closed up, I continued to do that and wait for a break.

She began posing as an artists' model—several of the artists were schoolmates of hers, and she was provided with other employment through those connections, and I was taking pictures of "stills," as we call them, of various art studies and so forth.

Mr. OSMERS. How long did that employment continue, this temporary employment of both your wife and yourself?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, that was a stop-gap. It is still continuing. There was no end to it, you see.

Mr. OSMERS. Were you ever unemployed in Chicago?

Mr. KENNEDY. Not exactly, no; I mean nothing that was acute, you see.

Mr. OSMERS. How did you support yourself in Chicago?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, in Chicago I have a brother. My brother is an engineer, and we used to work together in radio work and that sort of thing. I had been at school, prior to 1937, most all of my life, so that there was no question of unemployment there.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you ever voted in Chicago?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. You have?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you ever voted in New York City?

Mr. KENNEDY. Not yet.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, your trade is that of commercial photography. You would call yourself a commercial photographer?

Mr. KENNEDY. I suppose so.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you had special training along those lines or did you develop that talent yourself?

Mr. KENNEDY. Partly both.

Mr. OSMERS. You have had some training along those lines?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Were you able to find any employment in that line in New York, that is, working for others for pay?

Mr. KENNEDY. No.

Mr. OSMERS. You were not?

Mr. KENNEDY. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you do any other type of work while you were here?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes; about this time last year I got certain jobs, the majority of them in pressing clothes, through several agencies.

Mr. OSMERS. What experience did you have with those employment agencies?

Mr. KENNEDY. I imagine it is typical experience. I have no proof of course, and I am not making any statements that should go on record, but in this particular instance it seems to me there was some sort of collusion between the employers and the agencies.

Mr. OSMERS. What is that?

Mr. KENNEDY. Some sort of collusion between employers and the agencies which were located on Sixth Avenue; it runs like this:

They give you a job, you see, and usually take anywhere from 6 to 10 percent of your first week's pay, and you go on the job, and it may be at Brooklyn or Queens or some place like that.

Mr. OSMERS. Do they take that after you go on the job?

Mr. KENNEDY. They take that before you go on the job, and my experience at least has been corroborated by several others using these agencies—you go on these jobs and you find a lot of work piled up and you finish the work up possibly in 5 or 6 days, and then you find that you are no longer employed, so you go back to the agency to demand your money, as the law requires, and you find——

Mr. OSMERS. How many weeks of employment are they supposed to guarantee?

Mr. KENNEDY. They don't guarantee any weeks of employment at all.

Mr. OSMERS. They don't? You said you went to the employment agency to get your money as required by the law.

Mr. KENNEDY. The law demands that they must return a certain percentage of your money, if you are fired within a given time.

Now, they get around that by saying that you might get your money if you are discharged through no fault of your own. Well, they get around that by saying that you were fired because you were too slow or some—in one extreme instance, I was discharged because I was supposed to press 100 suits a day on a steam press, and I pressed, I think it was, 95 or 94 or something like that. It has been about a year ago, and I was fired for that reason.

Mr. OSMER. Fired for that reason?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. When did you have your first contact with the relief authorities of New York?

Mr. KENNEDY. That was the nonsettlement relief; it was around the latter part of August, or the first part of September of last year.

Mr. OSMERS. How much relief did you receive?

Mr. KENNEDY. Roughly $20, it varied from $21 to $24 semi-monthly.

Mr. OSMERS. And you augmented that with some private earnings, spot earnings here and there?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Well, were you able to exist or maintain an independent home on those allowances?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, to do work in my field, I must have a place of my own. It must have running water, and that sort of thing, and usually it is a nuisance to be in someone else's home, so we did have a small place of our own, yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Has it ever been suggested to you by this nonsettlement relief agency that you return to Chicago?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes; that was the condition under which we got the relief.

Mr. OSMERS. And what became of that? I mean, what happened to that?

Mr. KENNEDY. I am not quite sure of the facts in the case, but there seems to be some law in Illinois, or rather in Chicago, that you must have so many years previous residence that they can check. Now, apparently I was in school during some of those years, and it made a gap in the record, and I left, they say, with no intention of returning, which was true, but I do not know how they got that information. So that blocked the desire to have me return to Chicago.

Mr. OSMERS. From your personal standpoint, did you have any desire to return to Chicago?

Mr. KENNEDY. No; there were several problems involved there. I mean—I had about—at that time I had about $600 worth of photographing equipment, some of it quite bulky and heavy, and to transfer it back to Chicago would create a problem on account of breaking. I had pulled up stakes in Chicago, and it was a matter of just surviving in New York or not at all.

Mr. OSMERS. And I suppose the fact that you were receiving some measure of steady relief in New York had some effect upon your desire to stay here too?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, naturally. I mean it was not a matter of that, so much; it was mostly a matter of getting the stuff back to Chicago, and then reestablishing myself there, and there was not that much difference in the two places as far as I was concerned.

Mr. Osmers. Have you been doing much photographic business since you have been on relief?

Mr. Kennedy. Oh, yes; some.

Mr. Osmers. You have been doing some?

Mr. Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have a shop in New York?

Mr. Kennedy. Yes; I do.

Mr. Osmers. What rental do you have to pay for that shop?

Mr. Kennedy. $40 a month, including the bill for electricity.

Mr. Osmers. $40 a month?

Mr. Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Do you think that you will eventually be able to become self-supporting, and support your family, without relief?

Mr. Kennedy. That is also conditioned, the thing itself is going to terminate this month.

Mr. Osmers. What do you mean by "terminate?"

Mr. Kennedy. The nonsettlement is going to terminate next month.

Mr. Osmers. Now, if nonsettlement relief terminates, and your photographic business does not improve to a point where it can entirely support you, what do you intend to do?

Mr. Kennedy. Probably press clothes.

Mr. Osmers. You will go back to that business?

Mr. Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Are there always ample opportunities for pressing clothes?

Mr. Kennedy. No; I was being a little facetious there. I do not expect it to fall through. There are indications that it will survive.

Mr. Osmers. How much did you receive as a clothes presser when you went out from these agencies? How much pay per week?

Mr. Kennedy. Well that pay, of course, is piece work. There is no guaranty. They will tell you that you can probably make $15 or $18 or $20 a week.

Mr. Osmers. What would you say that that would amount to as an hourly wage?

Mr. Kennedy. It is hard to say. If you get 3 cents a garment, I mean a coat, vest, and pants, which are considered separate items, and some shops give you 10 cents per suit, if you can press 10 suits an hour, it is $1.

Mr. Osmers. $1 for an hour's work?

Mr. Kennedy. If the suits come in and sometimes, of course, most of the time you are sitting around doing nothing, waiting for those suits to come in.

Mr. Osmers. And of course you earn nothing while you are waiting?

Mr. Kennedy. That is right.

Mr. Osmers. I believe that you said before that you got out of college in 1935?

Mr. Kennedy. In 1937. I quit. I got out.

Mr. Osmers. You quit college in 1937?

Mr. Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Since 1937, how much time have you spent on public relief of one form or another, would you say?

Mr. Kennedy. About a year and a half, I imagine.

Mr. Osmers. About a year and a half of the 3 years; about half of the time you spent on relief?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any other questions from the committee?

Mr. PARSONS. You stated that in one instance where you received employment through this employment agency, you pressed 94 suits in a day?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes; uniforms, more or less.

Mr. PARSONS. How many pieces—well, let us put the question this way: What did you receive per suit, or uniform?

Mr. KENNEDY. In that particular instance I believe that they were about evenly divided between two-piece uniforms, bellhops' and that sort of thing, you see, and a few dresses, and a few suits, roughly about 8 cents a complete uniform.

Mr. PARSONS. So that if you received 8 cents that was at the rate of about $7.50 a day?

Mr. KENNEDY. For that day; yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. But those kind of days did not come along very often?

Mr. KENNEDY. That was the only day that I had there. You see those outfits will pile up.

Mr. PARSONS. If you could not press 100 they would let you out?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Any other questions? If not, thank you very much, Mr. Kennedy, for your contribution.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. OSMERS. Is Mr. Travis here?

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT PHELAN TRAVIS

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Travis, what is your full name?

Mr. TRAVIS. Robert Phelan Travis.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you care to question Mr. Travis, Mr. Parsons?

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born, Mr. Travis?

Mr. TRAVIS. Alabama.

Mr. PARSONS. When?

Mr. TRAVIS. November 30, 1895.

Mr. PARSONS. You are an American citizen?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Your parents were born in this country?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What has been your occupation?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, since 1916 it was mostly selling work up to 1930. Road salesman.

Mr. PARSONS. What did you do before 1916?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I was in school down in Birmingham. I lived down in Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you come to New York City, or to Connecticut?

Mr. TRAVIS. In 1917.

Mr. PARSONS. That is, just the beginning of the war?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you in the service?

Mr. TRAVIS. No; I was with the New Haven Railroad Co. during that time.

Mr. PARSONS. What was the occupation of your people, your father?

Mr. TRAVIS. My father was a lumberman.

Mr. Parsons. In Alabama?

Mr. Travis. Yes; but he was born in Texas, and he came to Alabama in the lumber business, and he was in business for a while for himself there, and he scaled logs for different concerns down there.

Mr. Parsons. What business was his father in?

Mr. Travis. His father was a lumberman.

Mr. Parsons. In Texas?

Mr. Travis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What time did they settle in Texas?

Mr. Travis. Well, I don't know exactly, but my father's people—he died when I was 9 years old—and we only met those people once before he died.

Mr. Parsons. Your mother's people came from Texas, too?

Mr. Travis. They are from Alabama. They settled in Alabama. That is, my great-grandfather, in 1820, I believe; but my grandfather was in the Civil War.

Mr. Parsons. Are you a college graduate?

Mr. Travis. No; high school.

Mr. Parsons. Just a high-school graduate?

Mr. Travis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You say that you were employed with the railroad company in 1917. How long were you with the railroad company?

Mr. Travis. Well, it was from the latter part of 1917 until after the armistice in 1918.

Mr. Parsons. What were your wages while working with the railroad company?

Mr. Travis. Well, we had quite a bit of overtime there. It amounted, I guess, to about $40, or $45, or $50 a week.

Mr. Parsons. Then what did you do following that?

Mr. Travis. I went back with the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co. as a salesman. I was with them before that, and then I went with the New Haven Railroad Co. during the war, and I think it was December or January of 1919 I went back with the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

Mr. Parsons. What was your salary with them?

Mr. Travis. We worked on a bonus arrangement, and salary, and I think I was drawing about $30 or $35 a week.

Mr. Parsons. How long did you work for the tobacco company?

Mr. Travis. I only stayed with them about a year and a half and then I went with the Hershey Chocolate Co. as a road salesman for more money.

Mr. Parsons. What did you make when you were working for the chocolate people?

Mr. Travis. I think about $50 a week, bonus, and my traveling expenses.

Mr. Parsons. How long did you work for the chocolate people?

Mr. Travis. Well, I think that I was with the Hershey people for about 2 years, and then I went with the Thomas J. Lipton. I was a district sales manager for those people.

Mr. Parsons. The Lipton tea company?

Mr. Travis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. And what was your salary while you were working with them?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, we worked on a bonus and commission, and salary arrangement, and expenses, and I think I averaged about—I netted about $5,000 a year.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of a bonus arrangement did you have?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, we got a commission on our sales through the jobber, had a bonus arrangement on all merchandise sold to the jobbers, and we had a commission allowance, a car allowance, and expenses.

Mr. PARSONS. How many years were you with the tea company?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was with Lipton, I think, 3 or 4 years, and then I still continued in the tea business for 5 years. I was district manager up until 1929 for the Tao Tea Co.

Mr. PARSONS. How come you quit the Lipton company?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I had a better proposition with the Tao Tea Co.

Mr. PARSONS. What did you make when you worked for them?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I stayed with them 5 years. The salesman that stayed with them 5 years received $5,000 worth of stock. I was district manager, and I had men under me, and I don't know what my complete earnings were, because it was all split up. I had several States under my supervision, and I would get an "over-riding" on the men.

Mr. PARSONS. Approximately what were your entire earnings dur- that 5-year period?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, with everything considered, I averaged at least $5,000 a year, and then at the end of 5 years we had the $5,000 in stock.

Mr. PARSONS. You still hold that stock?

Mr. TRAVIS. Oh, no; I sold that.

Mr. PARSONS. What was the stock worth when you received it?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, when I finally sold it, I think we got about $3,000 for it. I sold it when my wife got into difficulties up there. We had some property up in Connecticut, and we lost that, and I sold that when we were trying to hold the property.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you living then?

Mr. TRAVIS. Westport, Conn.

Mr. PARSONS. Where was your office headquarters?

Mr. TRAVIS. New York City.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you commuting back and forth from New York to Connecticut?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes; when I was around New York here. We lived in New York part of the time and we maintained a home here for about 3½ years, back and forth.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of property did you have in Connecticut?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, we owned a house up there and then my wife's mother left three houses to my wife when she died in 1928, so we had four houses up there altogether, and we lost them all in 1930.

Mr. PARSONS. Were they left to your wife with mortgages on them already when you received them?

Mr. TRAVIS. No; in 1928 there was a very small mortgage on the three houses combined, but my wife ran the mortgage up considerably there. She was manipulating around the market a bit, and she borrowed additional money, about $30,000 on the three houses, ogether.

Mr. PARSONS. Playing the market, and the market dropped out in 1929?

Mr. TRAVIS. That is very true.

Mr. PARSONS. How much savings, if any, did you put away during the period that you were making around $5,000 per year and expenses?

Mr. TRAVIS. We did have some money saved up, and we had some stock that was bought outright, and of course we unloaded everything in 1929 and 1930 to try to salvage this property. We bought one house and we fixed it up and we spent several thousand dollars fixing that house that we lived in, in 1928 and 1929.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you sell before the market crash in October of 1929, or did it crash?

Mr. TRAVIS. We sold afterward.

Mr. PARSONS. What stocks were you playing in the market? Or your wife playing in the market?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was not. I did own a few stocks outright, but my wife had a margin account with a brokerage house, and she was playing the market.

Mr. PARSONS. That happened in 1929 and 1930, and what have you been doing since 1930?

Mr. TRAVIS. From 1929 to April of 1930, I was sales manager for the Manhattan Dental Co., here in New York, and I was commuting back and forth to Westport. Part of the time we lived in New York here, and part of the time in Westport, Conn.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing since 1930?

Mr. TRAVIS. In 1930, in September of 1930, we came to New York, and my wife was in a family condition at that time. The last baby wasn't born as yet, and I got a job with the Ridgway Tea people which only lasted a couple of months, they were laying their men off, and in November of 1930 we were in pretty bad shape. We had lost everything, and our furniture was in storage up there in Westport, and we had the five children with us, so some friends there living right near us—it was kind of a welfare committee connected with a political club—they came to see what they could do, and they contacted some agency and they got me work with a committee called the emergency work committee; they got me a job as a timekeeper and a foreman.

Mr. PARSONS. Was that on C. W. A.?

Mr. TRAVIS. That was called the Prosit committee, it was later on called the Gibson fund, I believe.

Mr. PARSONS. Was that a private agency?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, it was supported by private subscriptions, but they put about thirty or forty thousand people to work here.

Mr. PARSONS. And how long were you with that committee?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was with them 7—I think it was 7 or 8 months, until June of 1931.

Mr. PARSONS. And then what did you do during 1931 and 1932?

Mr. TRAVIS. In 1931 and 1932, to 1933, I was with the New York Telephone Co. as a salesman.

Mr. PARSONS. What was your salary during that period?

Mr. TRAVIS. That was also a commission proposition. We got $25 a week drawing account, and some weeks we would make $40, or $50, or $60, and then some weeks we would not make $10, and I don't know what my average earnings were during that time.

Mr. PARSONS. You would say $25 or $30 a week net?

Mr. TRAVIS. I think it would average about $30.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing since 1933?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, in 1934, why we applied for home relief so that I could get a job on the Work Relief Bureau.

Mr. PARSONS. How come you to quit the telephone company?

Mr. TRAVIS. They discontinued that line of work. They did away with that department.

Mr. PARSONS. So that you got certified for relief in 1934?

Mr. TRAVIS. In 1934, I was on relief for about 2 or 3 weeks, and I got this job, and I think it was known then, when I went on as a recreational worker—it was called the Work Relief Bureau, Department of Welfare. About a year later they organized the W. P. A., and we were automatically mustered right into the W. P. A.

Mr. PARSONS. Certified for W. P. A. employment?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What did you do on the W. P. A.?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was material checker, senior investigator, head interviewer, and I had charge of men all of the time I was on it.

Mr. PARSONS. What was your salary with W. P. A.; were you in a supervisory capacity?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was for a while on the administrative staff, and the highest I got was $120 a month, but when——

Mr. PARSONS. And did they take away your certification when you were receiving $120 a month or were you an elevated administrator or in a supervisory capacity?

Mr. TRAVIS. No; I did not get that when I went on. I later worked into the material end of the business until the city of New York took over all materials, and they did away with all materials, and then I went on as a senior investigator, and I got $23.86 a week and from there to head interviewer, and also received $23.86 a week; while I was a material checker I got $120 a month.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you have any private employment during that period or did you attempt to get private employment?

Mr. TRAVIS. Why, I was working nights for 5 years in a retail package liquor store, and I was going to try and work out something in that liquor business there and at the same time I wanted to get a little extra money to get furniture and to get my children back with me. I have four of them back with me now and two are still in the home. We were influenced to let these children leave in 1930, and we were promised aid to get our home back and get some of this furniture out of storage up in Westport, Conn. We had about $20,000 worth of furniture up there, because prior to that time we had furnished the other three houses, and the one we lived in and we were renting them out furnished; but the thing dragged on and I went from bad to worse, and the promises were not lived up to, and I just could not handle six children, on the money that I was drawing from W. P. A.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you still have that furniture?

Mr. TRAVIS. No; the storage people took it away from us.

Mr. PARSONS. For the storage?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. And your wife and you and the four children now live in New York?

Mr. TRAVIS. In Brooklyn, yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you still working on W. P. A.?

Mr. Travis. No; I was let out last September, because of the 18 months law.

Mr. Parsons. Under the 18-months clause?

Mr. Travis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Have you been recertified for employment?

Mr. Travis. Yes; I think about 7 weeks later; so my son, who was 18 last October, suggested that they call him down. They were going to give me the job back, some kind of a job, and my son and my wife suggested that he take the job and finish his one term of high school at night, you see, so he took the job on W. P. A. and he is still on it, so he finished his high school at night.

Mr. Parsons. He was certified in your place for the family budget on the W. P. A.?

Mr. Travis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. And he is still working?

Mr. Travis. He gets $52.80 a month; yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Have you sought private employment since that time?

Mr. Travis. I certainly have. I am listed with dozens of agencies. I am registered with the State, Salvation Army, Y. M. C. A., private agencies, and I have been following newspaper ads.

It is very difficult for a man——

Mr. Parsons. Have you written to any of the companies for which you worked before?

Mr. Travis. Yes; but they have curtailed all of their traveling men; about 75 percent of the traveling men of the country are off the road, and conditions are entirely different from the times prior to 1930 and 1931.

Mr. Parsons. None of those concerns give seniority rights to their former employees?

Mr. Travis. No; because conditions have been so bad in the past few years, that they have curtailed their selling force. Lipton, for instance, does not travel one-half of the men that they used to.

Mr. Parsons. Are you getting direct relief in addition to the son's employment on W. P. A.?

Mr. Travis. Well, we get a supplementary of $22 a month.

Mr. Parsons. In addition to the $52?

Mr. Travis. Yes; but we got that, I think, up to the first week of this month, and they have cut that out now.

Mr. Parsons. How old is this son that is working?

Mr. Travis. He is 18; he will be 19 in October.

Mr. Parsons. What are the ages of the other children?

Mr. Travis. I have a daughter 17, another boy 15, and I have a girl 12, and the two children—the little ones—are in the Brooklyn Home for Children.

Mr. Parsons. Are you keeping them in school, those that are with you?

Mr. Travis. Yes; they are going to school.

Mr. Parsons. Of course, when you were making substantial salary, I suppose that you had great hopes for the future, and for the future of your family.

Mr. Travis. I certainly did; yes, sir. In 1930 and 1931 we did not expect conditions to ever become as bad as this, where I could not get at least something to do, because at that time Mr. Hoover was preaching that prosperity was just around the corner, and we thought perhaps that some day or another that we would get a break, you know. I never dreamed for one minute that conditions would get so bad that I would have to do down and work for such small money and lose my furniture.

Mr. PARSONS. You have moved around a great deal as a traveling man and have no doubt covered many States.

Mr. TRAVIS. I covered 37 States.

Mr. PARSONS. You have been here in the heart of the financial section of the country, and what is your opinion that has been the main thing to cause this unemployment?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, these mergers of business, combines, consolidations, concentration of wealth in very few hands, and if you are past 40 years of age today they don't want to look at you. I am 45, or will be shortly. That is my great difficulty right now. They don't want any, and in fact I think the age limit is coming down to about 35 now.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, do you recall——

Mr. TRAVIS. I have lied and put on applications, I have tried to say that I was 39 but they would laugh at me and check back the bonding companies that I have been bonded under.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you recall back when you were a young chap, that our fathers and friends that were along about the ages of your fathers, when they got around 45 or 50, were not eligible for employment very much in those days?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I guess that is true, Mr. Congressman, but I don't think conditions were ever as bad as this. In the 150 years that this country has been in existence, they didn't have any W. P. A., and home relief, and all of that thing, in the different little towns that I have been in.

Mr. PARSONS Well, we hear a great deal now days——

Mr. TRAVIS. Up there in Westport, Conn., they have any number of people on W. P. A., that is the first time in the existence of that town that they have ever had anything like that.

Mr. PARSONS. They never had any direct relief in Connecticut up until the depression came, that you knew of?

Mr. TRAVIS. Not that I know of, because I never had any dealings with any of them. I have learned since then, yes. I have learned a great deal since 1930.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you vote?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Where do you vote?

Mr. TRAVIS. In New York City.

Mr. PARSONS. But you lived up until 1930 in Connecticut, was that your residence?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes. Well, you see, prior to 1930, my wife was in the theatrical business, she was in New York a great deal, she was a member of Equity and, of course, up until—she wasn't active beyond 1926 and 1927, I would say.

Mr. PARSONS. During the period of the war, and following the war, then she had considerable earning power also?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes; she was playing in stock companies and Broadway shows.

Mr. Parsons. What would you say approximately was the earning power of your family, net, from 1920 to 1926, or let us say from 1920 to 1929?

Mr. Travis. Well, there were quite a few years in which she made more than I did, considerably more.

Mr. Parsons. So that if the stock market had been left alone, and it had been invested in good securities, you would have had a fairly good livelihood at the present time?

Mr. Travis. Well, you see, in 1930 what little money that I personally had saved up, along with my Tao Tea Co. stock, and I did have a few shares of outright-owned stock—I mean substantial stock—I held for a few years, I used that money to help my wife. She was in pretty bad circumstances up there.

Mr. Parsons. Were you the manager of the family or was she the manager of the family?

Mr. Travis. I didn't have a great deal to say as far as her business was concerned.

Mr. Parsons. That has been a few people's experience; very few, however, I am proud to say.

Mr. Travis. She ran her own business and I ran mine.

Mr. Parsons. Well, what is the outlook to you at the present time?

Mr. Travis. It looks pretty bad, pretty black.

Mr. Parsons. You have tried every way that you know how, with all of these years of experience to your credit, to find private employment, and you have been unsuccessful?

Mr. Travis. Yes, sir. Well, I was with this liquor store for 5 years, and I did intend to get this liquor experience and go out selling, but 71 percent of the liquor dealers in Greater New York today are on the c. o. d. blacklist. They have a law here where they have to pay their bills the 10th of the following month, and the latest statistics I believe show that 71 percent are on that c. o. d. list, and I found out that I could not handle the liquor business. You have to spend too much money.

Mr. Parsons. Do you have any suggestions to make to this committee about what we could do to help out in this problem in a legislative way?

Mr. Travis. You mean this migration?

Mr. Parsons. Yes.

Mr. Travis. Well, I don't know. I don't quite understand how I fit into the picture here, because so many years I lived in New York, prior to this 1930 business.

Mr. Parsons. But you were a migrant, after all, from Alabama to Connecticut and from Connecticut to New York?

Mr. Travis. I don't know.

Mr. Parsons. For business and industrial purposes.

Mr. Travis. You take a man with family obligations, or a young boy, or in fact any American citizen; I believe he should be free to go wherever he pleases. If opportunities are better in Chicago for a young boy living in Paris, Ill., or say, for instance, Milwaukee, and he crosses a State line, why should he not be able to go there? And if he works a few months and he does get into straitened circumstances, he is still in the United States of America, and I think something should be done. This resettlement thing we have only been applying for the last 2 or 3 months, and I notice the checks are different; they have cut those out now.

Mr. Parsons. Would you be willing—if a rehabilitation or resettlement program was proposed by the Federal Government—would you be willing to go out upon the land and take your family to try to make a living for them?

Mr. Travis. I certainly would. I will do anything. In the past 10 years I have scrubbed floors and cleaned windows, and that is a fact. I will do anything.

Mr. Parsons. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Travis, I assure you that any question that I or any other member of the committee might ask is not for the purpose of embarrassment or any motives like that. No one can read the mail that comes to a Congressman's desk these days without being deeply concerned about all of these trends and individual cases. What is the condition of your health at the present time?

Mr. Travis. Well, right at the present time I have been out of employment, I am pretty nervous, and I am in a terrible mess right now, but up until a few months ago it was very good.

Mr. Curtis. The experience you have gone through?

Mr. Travis. In the past year it has been very terrible.

Mr. Curtis. It has torn your nervous system down?

Mr. Travis. Knocked me to pieces.

Mr. Curtis. Were all six of your children away from you at any one time?

Mr. Travis. They were all taken together.

Mr. Curtis. For how long a period?

Mr. Travis. Well, it was only to be a temporary proposition, because this was in 1930, and my wife was very sick at the time and very much worried about the conditions that had gone on in the past, and she made arrangements to go over to Metropolitan Hospital, I believe, to have the baby, and they took the children because we had nobody to take care of them. In the meantime while she was in the hospital—you see she had to stay there 2 months before the baby was born, and from then on they took the children. They put them in a temporary place, I think it was the Gould Foundation, and conditions did not get any better for me, and the main thing was we had no furniture, and we owed hundreds of dollars up there on the warehouse bill, and we couldn't get anything that belonged to us, including our clothes, and the children's clothes, and in fact I think there was 29 beds alone in storage.

Mr. Curtis. Had you known at that time that the future was not going to open up, could you have sold and paid for the storage and salvaged a little out of it?

Mr. Travis. Yes; but you see they took charge of the situation there, and said that they were going to salvage some of that furniture, and different people advised us to go up there and have Mr. Nash to sell off this furniture and pay the balance because he incorporated in the meantime and took new partners in and he had to sell it. Otherwise he would have unloaded it, and we were going to salvage enough of this furniture to start a home, but things went from bad to worse, and they did not seem to keep up with their promises, and they thought perhaps we were not in such a predicament right at that time that someone would have to take the children.

Mr. Curtis. Now, you made reference that back in 1930 and 1931 you were expecting better times around the corner—as a matter of fact since that time the people of the country have been generous, insofar as they could be, in the providing of relief and jobs and that sort of thing, but they haven't yet put their finger on the basic illness in our industrial order that is causing it to run incorrectly?

Mr. TRAVIS. I think the Roosevelt administration is trying, in fact, they have kept people from starving anyway.

Mr. CURTIS. But the problems that we were facing in 1930 are still here and becoming more intense?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I will tell you the way I feel about it. At the present time there are six in our family and my son gets $52.80 a month, and we get the balance out of this thing which they have cut out already, and now how in the world can a family live in decency in greater New York on that amount of money? There is no provision made for clothes, and it is very difficult to get the rent. You pay quite a bit, you know; that is, for 6 people, where you have a grown daughter there of 17 years old, and you have a grown son 18 years old. I know that they are probably doing the best they can, but I am not satisfied with it. I want a private job. I am not interested in anything where I don't have to get out and hustle for it. They can have their relief business.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Travis, would you say that your chances for private employment have grown steadily worse during the past 8 years?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. They have?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. That the chances of your receiving a private job today are worse than they were 8 years ago?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, of course.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, your record demonstrates that; not anything that we might say or guess about it. You had these jobs right down until you had that liquor-store job, and when that folded that seemed to fold up everything, is that right, so far as private employment is concerned?

Mr. TRAVIS. I still stayed on W. P. A. while I was with this liquor store.

Mr. OSMERS. I mean private employment.

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That was partial private employment, a night job?

Mr. TRAVIS. That seemed to go by the wayside.

Mr. OSMERS. So that you would say today at 45 years of age, in the city of New York, with a successful selling experience behind you, that in the year 1940 your chances for private employment are absolutely nonexistent, as you have found them from going to newspaper ads, agencies, and everywhere else, is that correct?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes; because I believe that it is commonly known that the agencies, personnel managers, and most all agencies here in greater New York, don't want a man or a woman of 45 in any type of work. In fact they are laying them off.

Mr. OSMERS. You have raised an interesting question there, because you have in your own family an 18-year old boy, who I presume is an intelligent and normal, healthy boy?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. He is 18 years old and has a high-school education. You have said that because of your age you are deprived of employment opportunities. Does your boy of 18 years of age have any better opportunities for private employment than you have?

Mr. Travis. Well, yes, I believe he has, in certain types and lines of business.

Mr. Osmers. You think he would have?

Mr. Travis. Yes; but he listed at a great number of agencies when he got out of school last June and up until he went on the W. P. A. he was very unsuccessful.

Mr. Osmers. Well, something has occurred to my mind here. You were employed in a supervisory capacity in the W. P. A.?

Mr. Travis. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. And you received, well, just call it a fair allowance for that work, from $100 up to $120 a month.

Would it not be better for you to return to that employment if you could get it, and have your boy take advantage of his better private employment opportunities for the family's sake?

Mr. Travis. Well, yes, that is what I intend to do, but he is now on a recreational program, and they promised him an increase up to $82.80, and he is now with the P. A. L. camp, up in New York State. He is still on W. P. A., but——

Mr. Osmers. The P. A. L. is what?

Mr. Travis. That is the Police Athletic League, and he is working on this recreational program. He went up there as a counselor, but he wants me to get back into a regular line of business. That is why he took the job, and he says, and I think he is right, and his mother is right; they say that I am entitled to some kind of private employment, and I should get away from this W. P. A. business. They don't like it and I don't like it.

Mr. Osmers. You mean there is a difference of opinion between yourself and your family? You have told us that you think the boy's chances are better for private employment, but they think that your chances for private employment are better?

Mr. Travis. They thought my chances were better, but they proved very futile in the past year.

Mr. Osmers. I can appreciate what you have been up against, Mr. Travis.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Travis, in other words, you are continuing hoping that you can get such employment as will enable the boy to quit the W. P. A. job altogether, and probably continue his education or seek better opportunities?

Mr. Travis. Yes, sir; I intend to go back on the W. P. A. myself in September when he gets back from the country, if I don't connect with employment in the meantime, and then let him get out. I think his chances are far better than mine, although he will make very little money at the beginning, but he has got to get started, and I don't want him to continue on W. P. A. any longer than he absolutely has to.

Mr. Sparkman. You may have answered this awhile ago—when did you leave Birmingham?

Mr. Travis. Birmingham? I left there in 1917.

Mr. Sparkman. Soon after you graduated?

Mr. Travis. I graduated quite a bit before that time. I worked as a barber in Birmingham while I was going to school.

Mr. Sparkman. Where did you go to school?

Mr. Travis. Central High School in Birmingham.

Mr. Sparkman. And then you left in 1917, and went to Connecticut?

Mr. Travis. Yes. Well, I went to work for the tobacco company, one of the subsidiaries of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co., and that is how I happened to land up into New York; 212 Fifth Avenue was the address.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, I understood that you were connected with the New Haven Railroad?

Mr. Travis. That was during the war.

Mr. Sparkman. We were in the war from 1917 and into 1918.

Mr. Travis. I went with this tobacco company, I think, the latter part of 1916.

Mr. Sparkman. You had graduated in 1916, and you went with the tobacco company and then with the railroad company?

Mr. Travis. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Travis, I am from Alabama myself. I have listened with much interest to your story, and your very trying experience, and this thought has been running through my mind, that the name Travis down there is a well-known name, and a highly respected name, a great many of our people followed a man named Travis out to Texas, and died with him at Alamo.

Mr. Travis. Those are my relatives, yes, sir, directly connected with the Travis of the Alamo.

Mr. Sparkman. What is his kinship?

Mr. Travis. He was, I think, an uncle of my father's.

Mr. Sparkman. That is all.

Mr. Osmers. Mr. Travis, your experience of the last 20 years has been mainly with commercial and business enterprises, all the way through, that is particularly in the 1920's, rather than in the 1930s?

Mr. Travis. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that this Government should encourage private business so that it will open opportunities for men like yourself to return to private business?

Mr. Travis. Well, I really could not tell you. Of course, I have a lot of ideas and opinions regarding the thing.

Mr. Osmers. As a general thing?

Mr. Travis. I think the Government will eventually have to subsidize business in order to put the younger men that are coming out of schools, and the older people, back to work. They have got to do something.

Mr. Osmers. What I basically mean is this: That your employment, or your lack of employment opportunities at your age—and I am not making a political statement here at all—is basically due to poor general economic conditions; I mean it is not due to your inability to perform a job or anything like that, it just means that there are fewer jobs for everyone?

Mr. Travis. No; because every job I get on, I do a very nice job. On W. P. A., I was on the highest, what they call the high-security-wage scale, and I stayed there; and I had the confidence of my supervisors, and bosses and so forth, and I got along swell. It is not my trouble at all, that is, my personal trouble, it is just the fact that you can't get any jobs.

Mr. OSMERS. The basic solution, of course, would be more jobs, more private jobs, so that they could spread them out to men that are 45 and down to boys that are 18, rather than from some narrow group from 25 to 35?

Mr. TRAVIS. It is a very difficult job to get an interview, because they specify certain age limits, and you can get a million and one commission selling jobs, but they would not advance you 5 cents with which to get from here to Yonkers.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any other questions of Mr. Travis?

If not, thank you very much, Mr. Travis, for your testimony.

Are you a member of the 40-Plus Club?

Mr. TRAVIS. No; I am not.

Mr. OSMERS. Have you ever heard of it?

Mr. TRAVIS. I have heard of it.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. OSMERS. Will Mr. James Hill come to the stand?

TESTIMONY OF JAMES HILL, FARMER, HIGHTSTOWN, N. J.

Mr. OSMERS. What is your full name, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. James Hill.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you question Mr. Hill, Congressman Sparkman?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Hill, where are you from?

Mr. HILL. Mercer County, N. J., Washington Township.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. HILL. Farmer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You own your own farm?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are not a migrant or transient; you are an employer of transients, is that right?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What size farm do you own?

Mr. HILL. About 72 acres, about 60 acres in cultivation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you grow?

Mr. HILL. Corn, potatoes, oats, and other grain, and just a little bit of truck.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you use outside labor on your own farm?

Mr. HILL. Well, I just have a nephew to help me dig potatoes at times, and I change once in a while with my neighbors. We are right close together, and I have potato pickers, that is about all of the help that I need.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do the farmers in your community generally employ labor from the outside?

Mr. HILL. Well, they do as much as they can,[1] but it is quite a potato belt through there, and they could not get help. It would be impossible to get enough help around there to pick the potatoes and the tomatoes; there are a good many potatoes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is not available a sufficient labor supply?

Mr. HILL. No; there is not. There are quite a few from Trenton, but not enough; they have to have some outside labor there, for it is a short season, you know. It is only about 6 to 8 weeks' work there, you know, and it is really people that follow that business. It makes it better for them, because there would not be work more than 8 or 9 months out of the year, anyway. They would be idle so much of the time.

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[1] Mr. Hill states that he intended to infer that the farmers used migrant labor because they could not get local labor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where does that outside labor come from?

Mr. HILL. Well, some comes from the South, and there is quite a bit from Trenton, comes out of Trenton—quite a bit of the help, colored help.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, on this help that comes in from other States, how do you get in touch with that labor? How do the farmers get it?

Mr. HILL. Well, I couldn't exactly tell, only they have them from one year to another, a lot of them, they tell me. I never had them, and what help I have had I get close in the neighborhood, right close by.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, now, not speaking necessarily of your own case, solely, but of the average small farmer, as contrasted to the big farmer who runs the more or less commercial or industrial undertaking, do you find that outside labor affects your farm operations, and your farm problems advantageously or disadvantageously?

Mr. HILL. If we didn't get it, you mean?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. HILL. It would in gathering the tomatoes and potatoes, because this is a big acreage, and the tomatoes, they are put in under contract, most of them. Campbells gets most of the tomatoes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you find that in regard to this outside labor, any competition exists between the smaller farmer and the bigger farmers, in the raising of them?

Mr. HILL. Of course, wherever there is a large group the big farmer has steadier work, they dig potatoes steadier, and we start and stop. I only have 25 acres, you know, and I couldn't keep them going all the time. And the way the weather is now, no one can dig for a few days, it is too hot, and the dealers won't take them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is highly seasonal?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And when the time comes to dig you have got to dig, and dig in a hurry?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And pick in a hurry?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think that that need for outside labor will be a continuing thing in New Jersey, in the potato-growing area?

Mr. HILL. I think it will have to be as long as they plant as many potatoes as are planted; it will be impossible to get help enough to pick them as they want them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Hill, are there any social, health, or police problems connected with the presence of this outside labor, from your observation?

Mr. HILL. Not that I know of.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To your knowledge, do the farmers who employ this outside labor give to it adequate housing facilities, and other conveniences?

Mr. HILL. I think the majority of them do; yes, they give them a house or they build houses for them, you know, and keep them.

Mr. Sparkman. For about how long a time do these laborers stay in one particular area?

Mr. Hill. They come into Jersey along about—anywhere from the 20th or the 25th, and they work from the South on up. They come from Florida, the majority of them, that is what I have heard different ones say. I have talked with a lot of them, and they pick in South Carolina and keep on coming up and hit Virginia, and Maryland, and then they hit for New Jersey.

Mr. Sparkman. How long do they stay in New Jersey?

Mr. Hill. Around the last of August or the first of September, most all of them from Florida stay. I did not have them, but my neighbors have had them right close by me. They won't stay longer than the 5th of September. Just as soon as it gets a little cold they go back, and they have work there in Florida in the winter; the people start to come in for the winter.

Mr. Sparkman. According to your observation, do many of them stay here?

Mr. Hill. What is that?

Mr. Sparkman. Do many of them remain in New Jersey or do most of them go back?

Mr. Hill. Most of them go back. Very few stay here.

Mr. Sparkman. A few do stay?

Mr. Hill. Just a few.

Mr. Sparkman. Are they pretty much the same people every year who return to do this work?

Mr. Hill. A lot of them have them for as high as 6 to 7 or 8 years, and some have and some do not.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe that that is all.

Mr. Osmers. Mr. Hill, Washington Township is right on the outskirts of the city of Trenton?

Mr. Hill. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. How far is your farm from the city of Trenton?

Mr. Hill. About 13 miles. I am between Allentown and Hightstown.

Mr. Osmers. I know the neighborhood very well. There are about 125,000 people in the city of Trenton, as I recall, and of that number probably 8,000 or 10,000 are living on public assistance?

Mr. Hill. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Of some kind or other, I should guess—the general home relief or W. P. A.?

Mr. Hill. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Now, just taking that one city in New Jersey, they have just about enough people on relief there to equal the number of migrant pickers, the total number that enter the State of New Jersey each year.

In your opinion, could these people who are on relief in the city of Trenton be used for crop harvesting?

Mr. Hill. Why, yes; they could, such as picking tomatoes and for other work, but they would not be any good. People out of the city don't understand cultivating the stuff until they learn.

Mr. Osmers. There isn't much migrant labor used for anything except picking?

Mr. Hill. There is a good part of them—it is mostly colored, there are very few white people—that come from Trenton.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that we need to have them?

Mr. Hill. I feel that we have got to have some of them, unless they cut down the acreage on potatoes.

Mr. Osmers. You don't think that they intend to do that?

Mr. Hill. I don't think so.

NEW JERSEY'S RELIEF POLICY MAKES IT HARD FOR FARMERS TO GET LABOR

Mr. Osmers. But do you feel that anything about the relief policy of the State of New Jersey has made it difficult for farmers to get labor in that State to do that picking?

Mr. Hill. I do think it has, a little. It has made some of them—and that is one reason why they have to call on the southern help; it is only the colored that will pick potatoes; the white people don't want to. Young boys are looking for something a little better, and they don't want to do that kind of work, and that is why it would be impossible for the farmers to get the potatoes picked without southern help.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that an able-bodied young man who was able physically to pick potatoes should be given relief right next door to a job of picking potatoes?

Mr. Hill. No; I don't know.

Mr. Osmers. And ship someone in from Florida, 1,500 miles away?

Mr. Hill. No; but there are some that have refused to work, and there are some that have not, but there are exceptions to everything, you know.

Mr. Osmers. As a taxpayer of the State of New Jersey, do you think the taxpayers should continue to support a man who refused to do work for which he is fitted?

Mr. Hill. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. Osmers. You don't think that they ought to?

Mr. Hill. No, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Are there any other questions?

Mr. Parsons. Mr. Hill, about what is your annual revenue off of your farm?

Mr. Hill. Taxes?

Mr. Parsons. No; the money that you take in during the year?

Mr. Hill. Well, I don't keep no particular accounts. It depends on the season.

Mr. Parsons. That depends on the prices?

Mr. Hill. It won't be very high this year, if potatoes keep where they are. Everything is cheap, grain is cheap.

Mr. Parsons. What are you getting for potatoes now per bag?

Mr. Hill. Eighty-five cents.

Mr. Parsons. That is for 100 pounds?

Mr. Hill. That is for 100 pounds, that is the dealer's price.

Mr. Parsons. And you produce about how many bushels annually?

Mr. Hill. I will raise how many?

Mr. Parsons. Yes.

Mr. Hill. I put in 25 acres, and I have about 21 acres in cobblers, and I take them to Trenton and I sell them.

Mr. Parsons. About how many hundred pounds do you raise each year?

Mr. HILL. Well, last year it was a light crop, in some sections it was better, and it is not heavy this year. There are some spots in the field that are good and in some spots we lost quite a few last spring on account of the wet weather after we planted them, and, if there is a light crop, I don't know. As near as I could tell, it would run around 125 sacks to the acre.

Mr. PARSONS. And you have around 25 acres?

Mr. HILL. And some run as low as 100 and some will run up to 150, and I think it would average about 120 or 125. I heard some say that they are pretty good looking potatoes, and they only average about 110 sacks so far.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the highest price you ever received per bag?

Mr. HILL. Per bag of potatoes, I can't tell you. Wartime, I think it was. Then it was anywhere from $1.87 to $2.68.

Mr. PARSONS. As against 85 cents now?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. And what is the lowest you have ever sold them for?

Mr. HILL. I think 50 cents, and then I fed them to stock.

Mr. PARSONS. Can you make a living at 85 cents a bag?

Mr. HILL. You cannot, for expenses. The sacks are high, 9 cents for a sack, and it costs you 20 cents a sack to dig them, and the seed and the fertilizer run $55 per acre, and if you figure it up just for the digging and the sack, you about pay expenses. It practically won't hardly cover expenses.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any further questions of Mr. Hill? If not, we thank you very much, Mr. Hill.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. OSMERS. We will call Mr. Squires.

TESTIMONY OF CLAYTON S. SQUIRES, DIRECTOR OF STATE AID OF THE STATE WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. OSMERS. Will you give your full name, and occupation, Mr. Squires?

Mr. SQUIRES. Clayton S. Squires, director of State aid, of the State welfare department of Connecticut.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you care to make a short, informal statement, Mr. Squires, upon which the committee might be able to base any questions that they care to ask?

CLAIMS CONNECTICUT HAS NO "REAL TRANSIENT PROBLEM"

Mr. SQUIRES. I believe it was the Commissioner's wish that I inform the committee that we believe that there is no real transient problem in Connecticut. The records that we have been able to get together for the past few years do not show any great change in trend in the number of ordinary so-called floaters. There are, however, at the present time, quite a few people coming into the State as the result of the advertising of the war contracts to our munitions and aircraft factories, which cases come to our attention sometimes, as a result of waiting for their first pay.

Many of these fellows are being hired, because it seems that skilled workers are coming into the State.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that your State, similar to my own of New Jersey, is having a real problem with the shortage of skilled labor?

Mr. SQUIRES. That is true.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the State of Connecticut contemplate any vocational training for the young people in the State who are unable to support themselves, so that they may become self-supporting under this industrial program?

Mr. SQUIRES. I believe our State is one that initiated that program, and Governor Baldwin has been working in conjunction with the Manufacturers Association and with the manufacturers of the State, and with the State Board of Education. Now, I understand, Federal moneys are available to increase that program whereby there are three shifts of students, of all ages, learning on machinery loaned by manufacturers, so that they may be fitted in advance to go into these factories, and they will be guaranteed jobs on completion of their studies.

Mr. OSMERS. May I ask you whether the Federal participation of that program is under the Youth Administration? Do you happen to know that?

Mr. SQUIRES. I am afraid I can't answer that. I read an article, I believe last night, in the paper, that they are using Federal funds, but before that State funds were used.

Mr. OSMERS. I will put the question this way. My understanding is that the Youth Administration is cooperating on this mechanic-training program.

Mr. SQUIRES. I believe that is so.

Mr. OSMERS. But I understand that their age limits are from 18 to 25, and now I suppose that they have to limit themselves some way, but do you think that that is a wise restriction, to place the top limit at 25?

Mr. SQUIRES. It is my understanding of our program in Connecticut that it has gone beyond that, that they are training so-called rusty labor, or mechanics who have been out of work for some years, and have not been able to keep up with new ideas of machinery or new machinery, and to take them back for the required number of hours to bring them up to the point where they can go in and take over machines.

Mr. OSMERS. You would say that that was certainly a very proper part of the Federal Government program, to assist in that vocational training?

Mr. SQUIRES. By all means.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any other questions of Mr. Squires?

Would you care to add anything to what you have already said?

Mr. SQUIRES. We are here at your disposal.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have any considerable number of destitute citizens moving into the State of Connecticut or out of the State of Connecticut?

Mr. SQUIRES. No considerable number. It has been normal since the present depression started.

Mr. OSMERS. And the migration is not large in number?

Mr. SQUIRES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you say your official connection with the State was?

Mr. SQUIRES. Director of State aid.

CONNECTICUT HAS 4-YEAR SETTLEMENT LAW

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have settlement requirements there?

Mr. SQUIRES. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And how long a period is that?

Mr. SQUIRES. Ours is the 4-year self-supporting residence, in one town, in order to gain settlement in that town.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there any arrangement whereby you meet people at your State borders coming in, to make any inquiry of them concerning that?

Mr. SQUIRES. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You have just been fortunate in not having a great migration of destitute persons, you have made no deliberate attempt to keep them away from the State?

Mr. SQUIRES. No, sir; we have not.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. If there is nothing further, we thank you, Mr. Squires.

We wish that every State in the Union was in the same position as the State of Connecticut, with respect to the problem.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH LAPOLLA, OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. OSMERS. Will Mr. Lapolla come up? Will you give your name, please?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Joseph Lapolla.

Mr. OSMERS. Congressman Curtis, will you interrogate Mr. Lapolla?

Mr. CURTIS. Where do you live? Where was your last permanent home?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Philadelphia.

Mr. CURTIS. And when did you leave there?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I left there the 4th of June 1940.

Mr. CURTIS. And where have you spent your time since then?

Mr. LAPOLLA. On the farm now; we are picking.

Mr. CURTIS. A farm where? Is that in New Jersey?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Of E. Lore?

Mr. LAPOLLA. That is the name.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you married?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Fifty-six.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any children?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Eight children.

Mr. CURTIS. What employment did you have in Philadelphia?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I one time had a little business there, a little stand.

Mr. CURTIS. A little stand?

Mr. LAPOLLA. A stand with soft drinks and sandwiches up to 1935.

Mr. CURTIS. You had a little sandwich stand from 1910 to 1935?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And what happened to that little business?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Business went—shot.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do from 1935?

Mr. LAPOLLA. From 1935 I am employed by the city of Philadelphia, for 14 months.

Mr. CURTIS. You worked 14 months?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do there?

Mr. LAPOLLA. We got laid off.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of work did you do?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Sweeping the streets and cleaning.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, were you a regular employee, or were you on the W. P. A.?

Mr. LAPOLLA. No; I was a regular employee; not W. P. A.

Mr. CURTIS. And you held that job for 14 months?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes; and we got laid off in 1937; 1,900 were laid off.

Mr. CURTIS. And then what did you do?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Then I had no job.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, just a minute; don't go so far. You say that you hunted for a job and didn't get any?

Mr. LAPOLLA. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had a regular job since 1937?

Mr. LAPOLLA. About 7 or 8 months later I worked 4 months.

Mr. CURTIS. What are the ages of your children?

Mr. LAPOLLA. The young one is 17.

Mr. CURTIS. And how old is the oldest one?

Mr. LAPOLLA. The oldest one is 31.

Mr. CURTIS. Of the eight, how many of them live with you?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Five. Three got married.

Mr. CURTIS. They have homes of their own?

Mr. LAPOLLA. One lives with me; one daughter lives with me.

Mr. CURTIS. So that you have five children and one son-in-law with you?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Your son-in-law has work?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes; he works.

Mr. CURTIS. Where does he work?

Mr. LAPOLLA. He is a plumber.

Mr. CURTIS. In what town?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Philadelphia.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave Philadelphia?

Mr. LAPOLLA. The 4th of June.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, is he living in your home?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes; he is paying rent, too. He helps me out. He is paying $15 a month.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you own the house?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I own the house.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, are any of your other children employed?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I got another one employed 2 or 3 days in a week. It does not last long. Two employed.

Mr. CURTIS. What do they do?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Two are employed in the tailoring business. The other is a young kid, 20 years old, working for Brill; they make trolley cars.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you come to New Jersey to work on a farm every year?

Mr. LAPOLLA. No; I came last year and this year. That was the first time.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you employed in Philadelphia during the winter?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I did work last winter for 3 months, when I came back from Jersey.

Mr. CURTIS. How much money do you usually make in farm work during the summer?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Last summer, four people for 4 months, we make $200.

Mr. CURTIS. Three of your children and you?

Mr. LAPOLLA. My wife and two children and me, we make $200 for 4 months.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you get $200 and your food besides?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I got $100 taken, and we spent the rest.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, when you are in New Jersey, did you have to pay for your food?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Surely; you have got to buy bread and things. We eat, you know.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you buy that?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Oh, yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Or did your employer buy it?

Mr. LAPOLLA. You have got to buy it yourself. I saved $100, that is all, for 4 months.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, how much money do your children who live with you turn over to you?

Mr. LAPOLLA. It depends upon how much they make. If they make $10 they give me $7. My daughter, Mary Lapolla, pays $15 a month.

Mr. CURTIS. Who pays $15 a month?

Mr. LAPOLLA. My daughter in Philadelphia; they pay.

Mr. CURTIS. Your daughter and her husband pay you $15 a month?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you been on relief any time?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Seven or eight weeks; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much——

Mr. LAPOLLA. I had about 7 or 8 weeks last year before I went to the country. I got disgusted and went to the country, and we got $10 a week for 10 people in the house.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, how do you know where you can find a job in New Jersey, or do you just start out?

Mr. LAPOLLA. I started out last year, a friend of mine said, "What the hell, we might go over there, we are going to die in Philadelphia, and we might as well go over to Jersey."

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have a car?

Mr. LAPOLLA. No, no.

Mr. CURTIS. You just started out on the road?

Mr. LAPOLLA. No; they send a truck down to Philadelphia; a farmer sent a truck.

Mr. CURTIS. A farmer sent a truck down and told you that?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. The farmer came down himself?

Mr. LAPOLLA. Yes; and take the truck down, and we put the clothes in and we go to Jersey.

Mr. Curtis. Did the farmer drive the truck down or did he send another man with the truck?

Mr. Lapolla. He sent another man. He used his own truck. His name was on the truck.

Mr. Curtis. Did they take you back to Philadelphia?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. When did you arrive in New Jersey?

Mr. Lapolla. That was June 4.

Mr. Curtis. How long will the work continue?

Mr. Lapolla. I don't know. Maybe next month.

Mr. Curtis. The last half of next month?

Mr. Lapolla. That is all. If it doesn't rain, we might go another week.

Mr. Curtis. This year how many of the family are employed?

Mr. Lapolla. Three.

Mr. Curtis. There were four of you last year?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes. My wife and my Johnny, he came down with us.

Mr. Curtis. Are you the only three that are there?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Do the other children have some work back in Philadephia?

Mr. Lapolla. They have got something. Not much, just a couple of days a week.

Mr. Curtis. Do any of your children go to school?

Mr. Lapolla. Not any more. They have got to go back in school, you know.

Mr. Curtis. I mean in the wintertime?

Mr. Lapolla. In the wintertime they go to school back in Philadelphia. He is in high school, you see.

Mr. Curtis. You just have one boy that is going to school?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. How much money have you made this year so far?

Mr. Lapolla. I made about $40.

Mr. Curtis. You mean you have saved $40.

Mr. Lapolla. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. About how many days a week were you able to work?

Mr. Lapolla. We work every morning. We get up at 4 o'clock in the morning, and we are in the field until half past 5, and we work all day and make a couple of dollars apiece.

Mr. Curtis. And you work again in the evening?

Mr. Lapolla. No; we go back the next morning. We start at 4 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Curtis. You pick green beans?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes; lima beans; that is all.

Mr. Curtis. How long does it take to pick a bushel of beans?

Mr. Lapolla. It depends, maybe an hour, or maybe an hour and a half, and it depends upon the crop.

Mr. Curtis. What are you paid?

Mr. Lapolla. Thirty cents a bushel.

Mr. Curtis. If you could work all day, how much could you earn?

Mr. Lapolla. If you could work all day you could pick 10 bushels.

Mr. Curtis. Do you buy your food at a local store or from the farmer?

Mr. Lapolla. We buy them at a store.

Mr. Curtis. Does the farmer furnish you a house?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes; that is all; a house; you call it a house. It is a shack. I bump my head when I go in.

Mr. Curtis. Does it have any windows in it?

Mr. Lapolla. It has got two windows about that big, about 9 inches.

Mr. Curtis. How many rooms?

Mr. Lapolla. Two rooms. We have got to cook and everything in there. We are living like rats, no human beings should be in there, no human being.

Mr. Curtis. Where do you get your water?

Mr. Lapolla. Right in back of the shack.

Mr. Curtis. The water is all right, is it?

Mr. Lapolla. It is not so bad. It is pretty good. The mosquitos are pretty good, too. We can't sleep.

Mr. Curtis. What kind of toilet facilities?

Mr. Lapolla. We haven't got any. Just a couple of boards there, that is all.

Mr. Curtis. No building?

Mr. Lapolla. No building; no.

Mr. Curtis. No pit?

Mr. Lapolla. No pit, just a box, and lay them on the ground, and we can't sit, we can't do anything.

Mr. Curtis. How many people are employed on this farm besides you?

Mr. Lapolla. About 17 altogether.

Mr. Osmers. Did you all come out in the same truck?

Mr. Lapolla. No; some live in New Jersey.

Mr. Curtis. What work do you know how to do besides run your little sandwich stand? Are you trained in any other work?

Mr. Lapolla. Only labor.

Mr. Curtis. Just common labor?

Mr. Lapolla. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Do you expect to come back to New Jersey next summer, if you don't have a better job?

Mr. Lapolla. If things improve a little bit, I think that I will die in Philadelphia. If there is more money, it is all right. If we will make a little money, it is all right, but if I have got a job in Philadelphia I won't come down here.

Mr. Curtis. But if you don't have a job would you rather come back there and have $100 to go back with?

Mr. Lapolla. It buys coal for the wintertime. I need 10 tons of coal for the house.

Mr. Curtis. I admire your attitude, but you will be able to live only a short while this winter on what you can take back.

Mr. Lapolla. If I make enough to buy the coal I am satisfied.

Mr. Curtis. But you would rather——

Mr. Lapolla. I would rather work in the city.

Mr. Curtis. But rather than go on direct relief you would come here and work.

Mr. Lapolla. That is right.

Mr. Curtis. What country were you born in?

Mr. Lapolla. Italy.

Mr. Curtis. How old were you when you came here?

Mr. Lapolla. 17 years. I am 56.

Mr. **Curtis.** According to my figures—well, Mr. Lapolla, we naturally do not like to see anyone have to live in conditions such as you describe, but we are glad we have people in this country who are willing to sacrifice and make what they can.

Mr. **Lapolla.** We have got to take it anyhow.

Mr. **Osmers.** Mr. Lapolla, did I understand you to say that you would rather die in New Jersey than in Philadelphia?

Mr. **Lapolla.** I would rather die in Philadelphia than New Jersey.

Mr. **Osmers.** As a resident of New Jersey, I am glad to hear you say that. Has the State Health Department of New Jersey ever visited the farm where you are?

Mr. **Lapolla.** I can't tell, because we are in the field.

Mr. **Osmers.** But not to your knowledge, they have never visited that—they have not inspected the water supply?

Mr. **Lapolla.** No.

Mr. **Osmers.** Or they have not inspected any of the men working there to see whether they were sick or not?

Mr. **Lapolla.** No.

Mr. **Osmers.** Have they inspected the toilets?

Mr. **Lapolla.** No.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do you have good toilets or not?

Mr. **Lapolla.** I just told them, just boxes that they set on the ground.

Mr. **Curtis.** I was going to ask you, how many other people are employed by that same farmer, how many families?

Mr. **Lapolla.** That is all. We have got two families from Philadelphia, one family lives right there.

Mr. **Osmers.** That is three families?

Mr. **Lapolla.** Seventeen people altogether.

Mr. **Osmers.** Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. **Lapolla.** Yes, sir. I became a citizen in 1922.

Mr. **Osmers.** Any further questions?

Mr. **Parsons.** Mr. Chairman——

You say that you would rather die in Philadelphia than Jersey?

Mr. **Lapolla.** Yes.

Mr. **Parsons.** Would you rather die there than go back to Italy?

Mr. **Lapolla.** I am a member of the United States. I don't want to go back to Italy. I spend my time here. I am getting old now.

Mr. **Parsons.** Did you ever send any money back to Italy?

Mr. **Lapolla.** I have got nobody there.

Mr. **Parsons.** You have got nobody there, and you have never sent money back there?

Mr. **Lapolla.** When my mother was there. My mother died in 1917.

Mr. **Parsons.** Over there?

Mr. **Lapolla.** Over there, and so I sent no more. I have got nobody. All of my family are here.

Mr. **Osmers.** Thank you very much, Mr. Lapolla.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. **Osmers.** The committee will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:55, the hearing was recessed until 2:00 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 2 o'clock.)

TESTIMONY OF RALPH ASTROFSKY, DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF SHELTER CARE, DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Osmers. The committee will be in order. Mr. Ralph Astrofsky, will come to the stand, please. Will you state your occupation to the reporter, please?

Mr. Astrofsky. I am director of the division of shelter care of the department of welfare, New York City. I have here a prepared statement covering information that the committee might like to have:

STATEMENT BY RALPH ASTROFSKY, DIRECTOR DIVISION OF SHELTER CARE, DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE, NEW YORK CITY

The problem of the homeless person whose settlement is generally difficult to determine and whose occupation and habits are those of a transient, has always been one of the most perplexing. If the homeless man is now settled in the community, he probably migrated when he was younger. One of the first studies conducted by the Welfare Council of New York was on the subject of the homeless. During the Federal Census of 1930, social workers in New York City volunteering their services as enumerators counted approximately 50,000 men in the various commercial lodging houses on the Bowery, in the missions and speakeasies and in the municipal lodging house. It was the practice of the municipal lodging house then to grant only 5 days care a month to residents and 1 night a month to transients. Very likely, a good number of those enumerated, had received some public care; others were known to private agencies and missions and the rest lived on a hand-to-mouth existence, paying their room or dormitory rent by the night in the Bowery commercial lodging houses.

To control the applications of the homeless and transient and prevent duplication of relief, a coordinating agency, the central registration bureau was established under the auspices of the welfare council in cooperation with the department of public welfare in the fall of 1931. Here, all applications were received and referrals for shelter made to the participating public and private agencies. The restriction on the length of care provided to local homeless persons at the municipal lodging house was removed but the limitation of one night's shelter to transients remained until the central registration bureau was absorbed by the Federal transient program in July 1933. The central registration bureau was administered at first by the temporary emergency relief administration of the State and was subsequently renamed the unattached and transients division and made part of the emergency relief bureau of New York City.

Whereas, local homeless persons used to receive better public care than transients, the reverse was now true. Under the Federal transient program, transients received more clothing, more expensive accommodations in commercial lodging houses and charitable institutions under contract, extra allowances for incidental needs, camp care, special clinical treatment, surgical appliances and in general, greater individual attention. In 2 years the transient case load climbed to 7,500 unattached men of whom 2,000 were seamen, 500 unattached women, and 2,100 transient families who received home relief. Because of the material advantages to be gained on transient relief, some persons on local relief succeeded in proving they were really transients. The disparity between the relief standards quite naturally proved unpopular with the local homeless relief recipients and social agencies.

However, it has been refuted by several studies that the Federal transient program was responsible for any considerable increase in transiency, and that it gave aimless wanderers a chance to see the country at Government expense. Its major faults were the segregation of transients as a people apart from the resident group and the failure to integrate the program with local administration of public assistance. Nor was there a clear-cut policy on the important question of removal. If a transient refused to return to his home community when it was considered socially desirable, there was no provision for any action other than to continue his relief.

Following the decision to change the Federal program from one of relief to one of work, intake was closed on September 20, 1935, and by the end of year the Federal transient program was dissolved. W. P. A. absorbed the major proportion of the transients. The city assumed, too, a responsibility for those transient families who had no place of settlement to which they could be removed. Many of the transients that could not be placed on W. P. A. qualified for home relief under the Wicks Act, which required 2 years' residence in the State regardless of any receipt of public assistance during this period. The T. E. R. A. of the State ruled that needy seamen who had shipped regularly out of the port of New York for the last 2 years, were likewise eligible for local relief. These measures, together with a fortunate rise in employment and improved shipping conditions relieved pressure which might have had serious effects. Private agencies rejected the applications of nonresidents, except in occasional instances of extreme stress. To assure adequate relief to its own people, the local public welfare agency had no alternative but to follow the same course of action. Three days' care in the municipal lodging house was the maximum period of assistance offered to transients except in cases of youngsters and in other special situations.

On July 1, 1937, relief was liberalized in New York State by the revision of the public welfare law and was made available to all persons in need regardless of settlement. Local public welfare districts became responsible for the support of needy persons who had settlement in their community, subject to the usual 40 percent reimbursement by the State. The State reimbursed the local public welfare agency for the entire cost of relief and removal of a destitute person without settlement in the State. By a subsequent statute, where neither settlement nor an absolute negative of settlement in the State could be established, the case was treated as a local home-relief charge, subject to the usual 40 percent reimbursement by the State. New York City also entered into the intrastate charge back system by reimbursing upstate welfare districts for relief granted to persons whose settlement was acknowledged by New York City and similarly was reimbursed by upstate welfare districts for relief provided their citizens. The nonsettlement office of the department of welfare became responsible for the administration of outdoor relief to presumptive State charge and charge-back cases in New York City, while the division of shelter care of the department assumed the same responsibility for persons receiving congregate care or indoor relief.

First of all, the identical standards of relief were made to apply for the nonsettled group as for those with settlement. The program was entirely integrated with the local administration of public assistance. Profiting from previous experience, the nonsettlement office adopted the policy of withdrawing assistance from relief recipients who refused to return to their acknowledged place of settlement where such return was socially desirable. Court action provided in section 71 of the public welfare law was not an effective control. Shortly after the inception of the program, court action was initiated for the removal of a widower and nine minor children. It took almost a year to return them. In fact, only a few days stood between their loss of outside settlement, which would have prevented their removal. Court action is slow and cumbersome and the constitutionality of section 71 has been questioned. Another control adopted was the denial of assistance to unattached adult transsients of recent arrival who at time of application for relief refuse to agree to return to their outside settlement if considered socially advisable.

Both of these controls first met with resistance from social agencies, trade-unions, and especially from pressure groups of the unemployed. The welfare council in New York appointed a committee of social workers from the leading social agencies in the city to meet regularly with officials of the nonsettlement office and the State department of social welfare to review actual cases affected by these controls. After months of study, the committee not only approved the action taken in each of the sample cases discussed, but also endorsed the principle of these controls as a means of safeguarding the program. Private agencies refused to grant aid to any nonsettled person whose application was rejected or relief withdrawn by the nonsettlement office for refusal to return. The interested trade-unions also accepted the necessity of these controls and after many policy meetings the most active pressure groups dropped any discussion on this principle and brought up only an occasional case where the social advisability of removal was questioned.

If not for these factors and the other controls adopted by the State, as the initiation of correspondence for verification of outside settlement within 30 days of the application for relief and regular follow-up, the program might have been seriously endangered. New York City has the highest relief standard in the country. Yet in July 1938, a year after the inception of the nonsettlement office, the presumptive State-charge case load was 3,259. In November 1939 it was only 3,264, and only recently did it rise to 4,172, of which 25 percent represents unattached persons. And a good proportion of the case load includes cases which had been transferred in from the local home-relief district offices where they had been active under the old 2-year residence requirement of the Wicks Act. Now they were technically nonsettled because of the absence from the State of a husband or father, or because some member of the family had received public assistance during each year of residence in the State. A sample study of the presumptive State-charge case load showed that 43.1 percent had lived 1 year and over in the State and 16.4 percent had lived here 5 years and more, including life.

It may be safely said that after 3 years of the State program less than 60 percent of the cases classified as presumptive State charges, or over 2,500 cases, are transients in the strict sense of the word. Included in this number are cases in which efforts are being made to return them, cases where it is felt socially desirable for them to remain in New York, and cases of persons who have no outside settlements to which they can be removed. There is such a wide divergence in the settlement regulations of the various States that a person may lose settlement in one place without gaining it in another. Some States require as much as 5 years' residence in order to gain settlement and only 1 year's absence to lose it. There is the instance of a woman and three children who had lived their entire lives in one State until their arrival in New York, when they applied several days later for relief and removal. However, their State of origin requires 5 years continuous residence in a public welfare district without receiving public assistance and an absence of a single year from the public welfare district to lose settlement, even though the person had not moved out of the State. The result is a large group of persons made migrant because no governmental unit will accept responsibility, excepting the few States offering transient aid.

Of the presumptive State-charge case load receiving home relief, their transiency for the most part is only occasional. They come from communities offering few work possibilities and little or no relief, from the sharecrop areas of the South and from the island of Puerto Rico, which has no social-security program and where the wages are as low as $4 a week during employment seasons. A study of a sample State-charge case load disclosed that 27.8 percent were Negro and 23.4 percent came from Puerto Rico. It is the writer's experience that in recent years the occasional migrant has constituted a much larger number than the habitual, although studies of migration emphasize the problems of the constantly moving group. John N. Webb in his Internal Migration estimates that three-quarters of the 2,000,000 workers crossing State lines in the average year looking for work are occasional migrants and the remainder habitual. Excepting in the few instances of the psychopath and feeble-minded, transients do not wander for its own sake but only to find a place where they can work and settle. Ellery F. Reed in his Evaluative Survey of the Federal Transient Program observed that transient family heads were more successful than the majority of local relief family heads in finding work in a crowded labor market.

In the homeless group receiving shelter care, the superiority of the transient over the local homeless person is particularly true. Only 65 percent of the local homeless are employable, while 85 percent of the transients examined for Work Projects Administration employment in New York during the liquidation of the Federal transient program were found physically fit. The transient homeless are more enterprising, energetic, younger, and have better educational background than the local homeless, as may be seen from the following tables.

	Local homeless (in percentage)	Transient (in percentage)
Age:		
15 to 24 years	1	7
25 to 29 years	2	6
30 to 34 years	5	9
35 to 39 years	9	13
40 to 44 years	12	21
45 to 49 years	13	9
50 to 54 years	18	10
55 to 59 years	16	12
60 to 64 years	13	6
65 to 69 years	7	6
Over 70 years	4	1
Education:		
None	5	3
Elementary:		
1 year	3	2
2 years	6	4
3 years	5	1
Education—Continued.		
Elementary—Continued.		
4 years	6	4
5 years	11	4
6 years	21	9
7 years	10	15
8 years	17	30
High school:		
1 year	3	6
2 years	6	7
3 years	1	5
4 years	4	3
College:		
1 year	0	2
2 years	1	4
3 years	0	1
4 years	1	0

The homeless have a fairly good background in a variety of skills and semiskills; the transient are the more capable by virtue of their more recent experience in their regular occupations. Camp LaGuardia, providing maintenance work relief to unattached men, has been a self-sufficient community by being able to draw from its population every skill necessary to operate it—cooks, bakers, butchers, laundrymen, workers, electricians, painters, carpenters, clerks, etc. Few of the men have had an opportunity to remain long enough on a job to join any trade union. They have worked, however, at one or more of their several skills along their journeys and helped build this country by their appearance when they are needed. The industrial migrant secures only seasonal work of such brief duration that he does not accumulate sufficient credit to entitle him to benefits of social security laws of any single State.

Welcome extended to outsiders in time of public expansion is restricted when recession sets in. They are usually ineligible for local relief and have lost settlement in any community to which they can return and so they move on to milder climates, old homes, or where they have heard of jobs through hearsay, newspapers, or handbills. Neither the United States Employment Service, nor any other reliable public agency offers any information on job opportunities in the various areas of the country. The result is that not only transients, but residents as well, abandon their homes and set out on false prospects to strange communities. Many are too discouraged to make their way back and start their career of migration, ultimately to lose any settlement rights. There have been instances in New York of a taxi service to the city from southern communities bringing up people with promises of employment that do not exist, or pay less than subsistence wages. The city performed a service to the unemployed by cautioning them against coming to New York in order to find work at the World's Fair. Of 247 young people who were stranded here as a result of the fair, 157 were returned, often within a week, because the instant teletype messages transmitted by the juvenile aid bureau of the police department to their outside settlements for authorization.

From 150 to 350 homeless transients apply each week to the division of shelter care and an average of 100,000 a year. As has been pointed out, transient families come for the most part from the southern States and Puerto Rico, whereas the transient homeless generally originate in the northeastern and middle Atlantic States, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The major number of homeless female transients, and there were 321 last year, came from the mining towns of Pennsylvania and the mill towns of New England. Only a very small number of transient homeless are accepted, namely those who can make an early adjustment in New York and whose nonsettlement status can be established to the satisfaction of the State department of social welfare for full reimbursement of relief. The State requires the same conclusive proof of nonsettlement for homeless persons as for families before it will reimburse 100 percent. Not only is it far more difficult to obtain an absolute negative of settlement on the homeless group because of their longer period of migration and lack of response from out-of-town agencies, but the actual cost of shelter is frequently less than the price in work entailed to obtain the necessary documentary evidence. Nor is long-time care at the municipal lodging house or on the Bowery conducive to the future usefulness of able-bodied transients. Far more constructive and no more expensive in the long run is the plan of a reforestation camp or an industrial farm colony. Here the transient may stay over and work for his keep until he can locate a job. There is no reason why the camp cannot be tied up with the United States Employment Service to direct migrants to job opportunities, or at least to maintain a directory of seasonal work possibilities in the various areas of the country.

The habitual or constant migrant as distinguished from the occasional transient stands out more in good times. He is dependent on seasonal work wherever the local labor supply is inadequate. He is underpaid, underemployed, and often becomes a public charge through hospitalization, emergency relief, and the protective measures taken by the local police. Included in the habitual migrant group is also the health seeker, the peddler, the borderline psychopathic or feebleminded person and the maladjusted youngster. A study made in New York by the unattached and transients division in 1935 of transient youth showed his mental age to be 12 years and 10 months and an I. Q. of 80. He generally completed 8 years of elementary school but received no industrial or specific vocational training. As a rule, he was white, native-born and came from a poor home in New England, Pennsylvania, or adjacent States. Dromo mania or the desire to wander, as it has been termed by one psychiatrist, constitutes, however, a minor item among present-day transients. It is all the more important for a relief agency handling transients to give them individual attention so as to make some intelligent plan for the care of each person and not treat them in a mass.

Seamen are probably the most vigorous, articulate, and self-reliant in the transient group. Most of the men belong to a trade union—the deepwater seamen as a rule to the National Maritime Union of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the inland boatmen, harbormen, and Great Lakes seamen to the International Seafarers Union of the American Federation of Labor. Each seaman carries some papers of identification; inland boatmen have letters from previous employers and the deepwater seamen who constitute the majority, possess at least three papers, a certificate of identification, a certificate of service, and a certificate of discharge. Seamen may also have a certificate of rating or rank, a union book and a shipping card issued by the trade-union. Members of our merchant marine, easily recognizable by their papers, are in the writer's opinion clearly the responsibility of the Federal Government when they are unemployed. They have established no roots in any community and have no intention to settle in any State but be afloat a vessel. In the past 2 years, a maximum of 500 seamen and a minimum at present of 60 seamen have applied each week for an average care of 29 days, as compared to 105 days for transient landsmen. The following table gives the number of different seamen receiving assistance from the division of shelter care on the first day of each month since August 1, 1937.

Date	1937	1938	1939	1940	Date	1937	1938	1939	1940
Jan. 1	------	304	383	262	July 1	-----	483	408	93
Feb. 1	------	785	426	192	Aug. 1	68	643	365	------
Mar. 1	------	773	382	227	Sept. 1	208	650	323	------
Apr. 1	------	748	312	196	Oct. 1	328	679	297	------
May 1	------	580	296	155	Nov. 1	409	631	278	------
June 1	------	583	428	126	Dec. 1	130	603	355	------

The gradual reduction in the seamen case load since December 1939 is due to the placement on a special Work Projects Administration project of seamen who lost their employment because of the Neutrality Act. It included seamen who had been employed for 6 months subsequent to September 1, 1938, on ocean-going vessels. Although the present number receiving shelter care is under 100 and includes those ineligible for this special Work Projects Administration placement, any break in shipping conditions may bring in, overnight, hundreds of applicants. This has been the history of the seamen problem.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH ASTROFSKY—Resumed

Mr. Osmers. Now, you have submitted this statement to the committee, Mr. Astrofsky, and I wonder—most of the members of the committee have gone over it—I wonder if you would summarize that in your own language for us.

Mr. Astrofsky. Yes. I traced first the history of the transient program in New York City, during Federal participation in the program, and subsequent thereto when the State resumed the responsibility for the care of transients. I also indicated some of the difficulties with the old Federal transient program, such as, for example, the fact that transients received a different standard of care from our local people in New York, and also the problem of the removal, which apparently did not concern the Federal Government as much as it concerns the local relief administrations at present.

THE QUESTION OF "SETTLEMENT"

Since July 1, 1937, when relief was liberalized in New York by revision of the public-welfare law, it was made available to all needy persons, regardless of settlement.

Now, first of all, an identical standard of relief was made to apply for the nonsettlement group as well as for those with settlement, and the program was entirely integrated with the local administration of public assistance.

The problem of removal was indicated in the public-welfare law, allowing for forcible court action if necessary. However, that in itself has not proven successful to date; it has been necessary, on occasions, to withdraw assistance from persons who refused to return home if it is deemed desirable for them to do so. Then there is also the question of refusing aid in the first instance, where a person has just come to New York, and where it is felt that that person should return to his home community and he refuses to do so.

Now, it is interesting to note that in 3 years' time since this State program was initiated in New York, the State-charge case load today amounts to 4,200, 30 percent of which are unattached persons receiving some home relief. This case load has remained fairly stable over the past year and a half, or so. In addition to that, of course, we have our homeless transients to the extent of about 10,000, who come into New York City every year.

Mr. Curtis. Now, pardon me, at this point, that is 10,000 homeless transients, are those individuals or families?

Mr. Astrofsky. They are individuals.

Mr. Osmers. Do these 10,000 transients stay with you permanently, or do they move on?

Mr. Astrofsky. About 2 percent stay in New York, and the rest stay here generally several days and move on.

As for the make-up of our home-relief transient case load, 70 percent of which are families, we find that 23.4 percent came from Puerto Rico, and that 27.8 percent are Negroes. A large proportion of the families came from the southern communities, and, of course, from Puerto Rico.

As for the homeless group, we find that the majority of the single men, and single women, too, who are included in the homeless group, come from New England, and the adjacent States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. We find, too, that the transient single man is generally of a superior caliber to the extent that he is able to find work more readily, is younger, and physicially more fit.

For example, I find that among our local homeless, who are residents of New York, 17 percent are between the ages of 15 and 40, while in the transient group 35 percent are between the ages of 15 and 40. We find also that the older men form a larger proportion among the local homeless than among the transients.

As far as educational background is concerned, 7 percent among the transients have had some college education, and of the local homeless group, only 2 percent have had some college education. Again, with the homeless—they have a fairly good background of employment and a variety of skills and semiskills, but the transients are the more capable by reason of their more recent experience in their regular occupations.

We have, for instance, Camp LaGuardia, which provides rehabilitative care to a thousand unattached men. Among our own unattached relief recipients in Camp LaGuardia are cooks, barbers, shoemakers, and so forth, who, in fact, do practically all of the maintenance work.

Now, coming back to the homeless, I said that we have about 10,000 coming in every year, or from 150 to 350 coming in every week. We receive reimbursement in those cases where we can definitely establish nonsettlement in the State. Of course, in the homeless group, it is far more difficult to establish their nonsettlement status with the result that the tendency is to take care only of those transients where there is a likelihood of getting full reimbursement.

Mr. PARSONS. Does the State reimburse the city in full?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Yes; where we can establish that the person involved is a nonresident of the State of New York.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of a form do you have to certify to get the State to reimburse you on that?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. We either have to establish documentary evidence from another State, acknowledging the settlement of that individual, or else we have to tie up an absence of 1 year from the State of New York by clearing with one or more cities where the person or family came from.

Of course, one of the most severe problems that we have in facing the transient person, both from the point of view of reimbursement and from the point of view of making a plan for him, is the question of settlement. There is a variety of settlement laws throughout the country, and some States allow a person to gain settlement if he has lived in that State 1 year without the receipt of public assistance. Other States require 5 years of residence without receipt of public assistance to gain settlement and 1 year's absence from the State to lose settlement.

SETTLEMENT LAW CAN FORCE MIGRANCY

For example, we had the situation of a family composed of a woman and three children who had lived in one State their entire lives, but unfortunately had not lived in the last welfare district in that State for 1 year without receipt of public assistance. They had moved from one welfare district in the State to another welfare district in the same State. This family came down to New York, obviously did not belong here and would not make an adjustment here. The reason for the woman coming here was to try to place her children in some institution.

We found we could not return this woman and her three children, because the State of origin refused to give us the authorization for their removal. Here was a woman and her children made migrant by this type of settlement law, and this is not unusual at all.

SEAMEN ARE CARED FOR

We have in our group of transients the seamen, who are probably the most vigorous and self-reliant. Most of the men belong to a trade union. The deep-water seamen, as a rule, belong to the National Maritime Union, and the inland boatmen, or harbor men, to the International Seafarers Union of the A. F. of L.

Each seaman carries three papers of identification; he carries a certificate of identification, a certificate of service, and a certificate of discharge. In the past 2 years a maximum of 500 seamen and, at present, a minimum of 60 seamen, apply each week for an average care of 29 days. I have here some tables which show that on September 1, 1937, we had 208 seamen on relief; on September 1, 1938, we had 650 seamen, and at present we have 93 seamen. The gradual reduction in seamen case load since December of 1939 was due to the placement on special W. P. A. projects of seamen who had lost their employment because of the Neutrality Act. It included seamen employed for 6 months subsequent to September 1, 1938, on ocean-going vessels.

Although the present number receiving shelter care is under 100 and includes those ineligible for this type of W. P. A. placement, any break in shipping conditions may bring in, overnight, hundreds of applicants.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of a W. P. A. project for seamen do you have here?

Mr. Astrofsky. W. P. A. first established a project along the waterfront, but of late, I understand it has been referring seamen to regular laboring jobs in the city. Of late, too, we have had a number of alien seamen who could not be returned to their foreign homes, and we have had to take care of a small number, at the expense of the State.

A short time ago we had some Danish stranded seamen, and, of course, we contacted the immigration authorities, but, until there was a ship to return them, they have had to be taken care of in this port.

Mr. Osmers. These men stranded through no fault of their own but as a result of the war in Europe—are they cared for by the city of New York?

Mr. Astrofsky. We administer their relief, and are reimbursed by the State.

Mr. Osmers. The State takes care of them?

Mr. Astrofsky. The State supports them entirely.

Mr. Osmers. While it is a very small total number, it seems to be more of a Federal problem than a city or a State problem.

Mr. Parsons. How many aliens do you have in New York City?

Mr. Astrofsky. I cannot give you that figure offhand; among our homeless population it is quite small. About 75 percent of your homeless people are native-born, and the others have been here many years.

Mr. PARSONS. And the reason that there is such a small number of homeless is that relatives and friends of those—some of whom may be citizens and some of whom may not be—have taken care of a lot of cases of aliens here in New York City and furnished them a place to live; is that true?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. That is possible.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think that there are 100,000 aliens in New York City?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. You mean on relief?

Mr. PARSONS. No; the total.

Mr. ASTROFSKY. When you say alien, you mean one who is not an American citizen or who has never declared his intention to become an American citizen—I would assume there are 100,000 in a city of this size, but I do not know.

SOME PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. OSMERS. A question of this settlement law situation seems to be becoming more and more important before the committee as men like yourself testify as to the various problems of the States and municipalities. Do you believe that these settlement laws should be broadened, or made more uniform throughout the country, or that they should be abolished?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. I can see a reason for settlement laws. These settlement laws, you know, came down to us from the old Elizabethan days in England, and the whole system of charity for years and years has been affected by our settlement provisions.

After all, we have got to determine some responsibility for a person who requires any form of public assistance. I cannot see any reason, for example, why Philadelphia should take care of a person who has just come in from another community. So, it seems to me that there is a reason for settlement laws being in existence. But on the other hand, we have found a great deal of difficulty because of the variety of settlement laws throughout the country. Some require 5 years, some 3 years, some 2 years, and some 1 year of residence.

For example, we have here in the city of New York a number of persons on relief as State charges who have lived here all of their lives. Because the husband deserted over a year ago and lives in, say, Chicago or in some other city, his family loses settlement.

Now, of course, we do not remove such a family to the husband, but on the other hand there is always a question of legal responsibility for this particular family. If we did not have State responsibility for nonsettled persons, that family could not receive any public assistance.

So what we do need is a revision of the settlement laws throughout the country and to make them uniform. We have a situation, for example where we may write to a State and ask for authorization to return a family which should be returned for good social reasons. That State will say, "Yes; the family has lived here a number of years, but we require that the family indicate to us their desire to return, after they have been advised that there is no relief at all available to them in this particular State."

Mr. OSMERS. If the Federal Government should decide to give financial assistance to the States and to the municipalities to help with the problem of transients, would you say it should be administered as a Federal program or as a local program, with Federal assistance, and when I say local I include the State?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. I would rather have my superior, the mayor, answer that.

Mr. OSMERS. Of course, the mayor gave us the impression, if I understood him correctly, that he thought it should be a Federal program for the saving of a great amount of overhead and administrative cost and expense, but other men, many of them in capacities similar to yours have felt that it should be a grant-in-aid program, to the State, or the States.

Are there any other questions?

PROBLEMS OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS

Mr. SPARKMAN. I want to ask him a question or two. I want to ask you about these migrants from Puerto Rico. Do they create any unusual problems for you?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Well, we have almost 25 percent of our nonsettlement case load made up of Puerto Ricans.

Now, the Puerto Ricans receive an average of about $4 or $5 a week in Puerto Rico when they are employed. I also understand that——

Mr. PARSONS. Did you say per week or per month?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Per week. I also understand that food costs are relatively high in comparison to the wages. They have to import a good deal of their food. Clothing is relatively high in relation to their incomes.

When these people come here to this country they have language difficulty. They are very clannish, and they are generally taken care of by their own friends and families for a short period of time.

They find it very difficult to get work. The work they do here is generally needlework at home or some very minor laboring tasks.

I think that they form a real health problem in a northern city. They are not accustomed to the climate here. Certain illnesses which are dormant in Puerto Rico tend to show up in New York, and they do constitute quite a problem, I think, to the general population here.

Mr. PARSONS. What are the illnesses that are peculiar to these Puerto Ricans?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. I do not know whether it is peculiar to the Puerto Ricans, or peculiar to a people that come from an environment which is so different from New York. For example, when they come here to a different climate, their health district of residence shows a high incidence of tuberculosis.

They are generally rather insecure. They are in a strange country here, a strange environment, and it is difficult to understand them. Their habits are peculiar to our customs. A person may call himself by his father's name or mother's name, or her maiden name, and we have individuals who use half a dozen names. He may, for example, take a wife, and she may use her husband's name, or her own maiden name, or her grandparents' name, or sometimes use a combination of all these names.

You try to recognize them when you handle their cases and it is quite a difficult situation. In their applications for assistance we are faced with all of these problems. And, of course, they do not wish to be removed because they would have nothing to look forward to in Puerto Rico.

I understand they have only a few orphanages in Puerto Rico, some of which can only admit a few children in the course of the year. Their facilities for handling mental cases are also limited. They have no social-security program, and in New York, of course, they do get the benefit of all these.

PREFERS UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. PARSONS. With reference to the settlement laws, I gather from what you say that so far as your own work is concerned you probably would prefer a uniform settlement law throughout the country rather than an abolition of all settlement laws?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Yes; that is my personal opinion. You see, we have here a large number in our nonsettlement case load that we can never return. Assuming that the State of New York revokes its program for the care of nonsettled persons, we will be faced with the problem of individuals that have no places of settlement. They cannot be returned anywhere, and, of course, New York City will have to take care of them in one way or another.

Now, if you had a uniform set of settlement laws throughout the country which would, for example, provide that no person shall lose settlement unless he gains another settlement, it would be very helpful to us in removing more individuals to communities which could take care of them or where they can make a better adjustment.

Mr. PARSONS. I have one or two questions that I want to ask on that point. You would, then, recommend, more or less, a uniform law in the States with reference to the settlement laws?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What period would you suggest—1 or 2 years, or 6 months?

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Offhand, I would say that 1 year seems like a fairly reasonable period of time for a person to be able to gain settlement. However, that person should not lose a settlement until he gains another.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, I am in agreement with that. But it was my thought that if they were repealed outright, probably that would create a greater transient problem than you have at the present time. If I could leave here and go to Illinois, leave tonight and get there the day after tomorrow, and immediately report to the welfare agencies and still get my relief, why I might just as well see all of the 48 States and all of the coast lines and everywhere else at the expense of the Federal Government, if the Federal Government was contributing practically all of the funds.

Mr. ASTROFSKY. Well, here we have in the State of New York a program of providing assistance to persons who have no settlement, financed and supported by the State of New York. Yet in a city of this size, 7,500,000 people, we only have 4,200 so-called transient families, that is, over a period of 3 years, and of the 4,200 transient families, I believe that at least one-fourth are transient in name only, but are really New Yorkers. They are transients because of some technicality in the settlement provisions. Forty-three percent of our transient families under care here have lived in New York over a year, and 16 percent have lived in New York over 5 years and up to life.

So, if you have adequate controls, exercised both from the standpoint of intake, and from the point of view of follow-up you can keep down your transient problem, your habitual migrants.

Our statistics also show that the nonsettled person, for the most part, is not an habitual migratory person. That is in accord with the findings of many other people who have worked with the problem and have studied it. I should say 65 or 70 percent are what we would call occasional migrants; they have come up from another community, not to get relief but to look for work or to stay with friends or relatives until they can get jobs. There is a small segment in the whole problem that actually migrates for the purpose of migrating. Even in that segment there are the usual migratory workers and then, of course, the chronic tramps and loafers, the juvenile delinquent, and other emotionally unstable, psychopathic, and feeble-minded persons about whom so many authors write beautiful stories; but they form a very small proportion of the entire number. Your large load is made up of people who are looking for work, and people who have not wandered for any period of time or to any extent.

Mr. Parsons. How was the relief problem handled in New York City and in the State of New York when the Federal Government was contributing from April of 1933 to July of 1936? Did each municipality handle its own problem?

Mr. Astrofsky. The Federal program, I think, was in existence from July 1933 until September 20, 1935, and that was supervised in New York State by the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. The job was actually done for the most part by the local public-welfare agencies, but the money was received directly from T. E. R. A., the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration.

Mr. Osmers. If there are no further questions, thank you very much, Mr. Astrofsky; you have made a very nice contribution.

Mr. Sprafkin is the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN SPRAFKIN, CHAIRMAN, SECTION ON UNATTACHED AND HOMELESS, WELFARE COUNCIL, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Osmers. Will you give your name and occupation, please?

Mr. Sprafkin. Benjamin Sprafkin, social worker, chairman of a group of 37 member agencies of the welfare council, which is a coordinating body of private and public agencies in New York. These agencies work with the homeless and unattached in New York City.

Mr. Osmers. As I understand it, you would like to present a series of recommendations on the care of transients to the committee, and I wish you would proceed.

Mr. Sprafkin. I would like to emphasize that these recommendations are based upon actual experience by the agencies engaged in the work with the homeless and unattached, and in addition, that these recommendations grew out of a study made both in 1938 and 1939 at the request of Miss Gibbons, the First Deputy New York State Commissioner of Social Welfare, requesting that the group of agencies follow the development of the State program inaugurated by the amendment to the public-welfare law which went into effect in July of 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. May I inquire into a thing or two? Now, this council is made up of 37 different private agencies——

Mr. SPRAFKIN. Private and public; I represent one section of the welfare council; namely, the unattached and homeless section.

Mr. CURTIS. And these recommendations were made by representatives, social workers in that group?

Mr. SPRAFKIN. Exactly.

Mr. CURTIS. Did this committee that formulated these recommendations have on it anyone other than people engaged in social work?

Mr. SPRAFKIN. As far as I know, they were all engaged in this field.

Mr. CURTIS. There was no one sitting in the conference representing the other walks of life, the general public, or other people?

Mr. SPRAFKIN. There are certainly some lay people in this group who represent different private agencies, and it is with the approval of the whole membership that these recommendations were finally endorsed.

Mr. CURTIS. But after all it comes as the recommendation of those people who are spending most of their time in social work?

Mr. SPRAFKIN. Yes, sir.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY MEMBERS OF WELFARE COUNCIL

(Reading:) The following recommendations have been endorsed by the group of 37 member agencies of the Welfare Council of New York City concerned with the care of the unattached and homeless. They are based on the actual experience of social agencies in this State and grew out of a study made in 1938 and 1939 in response to a request from Miss Mary L. Gibbons, First Deputy New York State Commissioner of Social Welfare, that this group of agencies follow the development of the State program inaugurated by the amendment to the Public Welfare Law (in effect July 1, 1937) and note its advantages and its limitations. They were reviewed this year in the light of recent developments in this field, found to be sound, and again were endorsed by the same group of agencies.

1. The problem of the transient is interstate in character and beyond the scope of any one State. Any State assuming the responsibility of caring for nonsettled persons is faced with the alternative of either being swamped by an influx of migrants from other States, or of setting up administrative controls to keep down the cost of the program which result in meeting only part of the needs involved in the transient problem. A highly complicating feature is the great variety of settlement laws and relief standards existing among the States.

2. Even if every State in the Union set up comparable relief standards and uniform settlement laws, participation by the Federal Government would still be necessary to equalize the burden.

3. Federal participation in the care of transients only would be unsatisfactory, as this would tend to encourage transiency and arouse

resentment, unless provisions were also made for assistance to needy residents not cared for under existing programs.

4. Transients can best be cared for as a part of a program of Federal assistance available to the States through grants-in-aid for general assistance. Such grants-in-aid should be contingent upon the acceptance by Federal authority of State plans which conform to federally establish conditions and standards, including adequate assistance to nonsettled persons.

5. In any such program, the following principles are essential to safeguard the rights of nonsettled persons:

(*a*) The plan should provide for all persons in need, regardless of settlement or residence.

(*b*) No distinction in the amount or type of assistance should be made because of settlement or resident status.

(*c*) Because an integrated, well-rounded program would not hinge on a classification of persons into settlement or resident groups, the rate of Federal participation under this plan should not vary because of settlement or resident status. However, because there has been assumed a particular responsibility on the part of the Federal Government for nonsettled and nonresident persons and because municipalities feel no responsibility to care for the nonsettled and nonresident, it may be desirable to provide for a higher rate of Federal participation for the nonsettled and nonresident group.

(*d*) There should be provision for a single State agency or State supervised local agencies to administer this plan.

(*e*) The present State laws establishing local settlement and corresponding local responsibility may continue, except insofar as inconsistent with the principles stated herein.

(*f*) Removals: (1) Removal of persons to places of settlement should be decided in accordance with the best interests of the family or individual and the communities concerned; (2) a person residing in a State may be returned to a State in which he has settlement upon receipt of acknowledgment of settlement and authorization for return by the proper public-welfare official in the receiving State; (3) regardless of settlement status, it should be possible for a person to be sent to another State provided he so desires and authorization is received from the proper public-welfare official in the receiving State.

(*g*) Minimum standards of relief and care including, but not limited to, medical care in hospitals, clinics, and other institutions, should be established in the State plan.

(*h*) Registration with Federal or State employment services should be required of every employable person under care who has reached the legal age for employment.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any questions that the members of the committee wish to ask Mr. Sprafkin with respect to the recommendations he submitted on behalf of the welfare council?

Mr. CURTIS. I have none.

Mr. PARSONS. I have none.

Mr. OSMERS. Thank you very, very much for presenting those recommendations, Mr. Sprafkin.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID C. ADIE, COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL WELFARE, STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Osmers. Commissioner Adie will please come forward.

Commissioner Adie, I understand you have a statement prepared, and would you submit that for the record?

Mr. Adie. I would be glad to, sir.

STATEMENT BY DAVID C. ADIE, COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL WELFARE, STATE OF NEW YORK

The problem of the destitute migrant, or transient, as he is often called, may be discussed from many angles. I should like to consider this problem today briefly in its legal, social, and financial aspects as it impinges upon relief administration. Although I shall defer the question of removals until later in this statement, I wish at the outset to say emphatically that reports in the press to the effect that welfare officials "deport" persons from New York State give an entirely erroneous impression of the removal procedure. No person is ever removed without authorization of the responsible official in the community receiving him. Such persons are only removed to their respective places of settlement after a careful social consideration is given each case. It is not primarily a question of economy or financial consideration.

In its legal aspect the transient problem originates in the matter of settlement. Settlement is the legally defined status of a person which determines what basic unit of government is financially responsible for his assistance or care. In New York State settlement is acquired by continuous residence in a city or town for 1 year without receiving public aid or being certified to Works Progress Administration as in need. The problem of giving public aid to the interstate migrant is greatly aggravated by the wide variation in the settlement laws of the different States. Because of this variation, a person may lose settlement in one State before gaining settlement in another. Those involved are usually unaware of their change of status. When a man in search of work comes to a State line, there is no barrier in his path, nor sign post by the road, to warn him that his next step involves a profound change in his legal rights.

Inquiring into the social aspects of the problem, I must devote some time to describing who the transient is in New York State. The social characteristics of transients differ widely in different parts of the country. We can eliminate so far as New York is concerned, the pioneer type of migrant who with his whole family pushes on to seek a new homestead on better farm land. This type, so important on the rim of the dust bowl, is not found to any extent in the old States of the East. In general use, the term "transient" is applied to persons who are almost continually on the move, going from one State to another seeking better work or living conditions. The wanderer, however, is only one type of transient. There are many who, although residing in the locality in which they have become destitute, have for technical reasons no settlement in any State or community, and also those who have settlement elsewhere outside New York State but who lack initiative or means to go to their place of settlement.

CLASSIFICATIONS

The transients in this State may be classified as to degree of mobility roughly as follows:

1. Those who are not consciously migrant; those who continue to live in essentially the same general vicinity, but who by happenstance move across State lines in that vicinity.
2. Those who move from one permanent domicile to another permanent domicile, with no intention of their moving about any further. Usually, they are persons who moved to take up a specific job.
3. Those who move about in connection with their vocations and have no real intention of settling for any period of time beyond the duration of the immediate employment in the place in which the current work opportunities are available.
4. Those who move from one permanent domicile to another with or without the guarantee of a job.

5. Those who follow in the wake of ripening crops and often live by groups in camps. Such migrants follow this type of work with great regularity each year.

6. Those who move continually because no community will shelter them for long, many of them having become demoralized to the point where they no longer possess steady work habits.

It is an antisocial attitude to regard transients as essentially different from other people—as undesirables. The migrant is principally and primarily the product of an industrial and agricultural society which requires a certain mobility in its labor force; he is not always a rolling stone by choice. That is to say, there are comparatively few migrants who move purely from wanderlust. Most of them move about because they cannot find continuous work in one place, and desire to better themselves and remain independent if possible. Some of them are itinerant laborers with a fair degree of skill in a particular line—such as some phase of construction work—who, when times become hard and their specialty is hit by depression, some sudden change in business or some shift in an industrial process, or when age or sickness puts them at a disadvantage in competition with younger workers, fall by the economic wayside, and must apply for aid. There are considerable numbers of agricultural workers who follow a particular fruit or vegetable crop, or a group of crops, from one section of the country to another—from Florida and the Gulf States in the winter, northward to New York State in the summer and back again the following winter. If at some point in this employment cycle the crop is a failure or the workman or someone in his family becomes ill, public aid for a greater or lesser time is needed.

There are also migratory workers who, lacking any definite skill, shift from country to city with the season. They attempt to get work on truck and fruit farms in the summer and go into the cities in the winter to pick up such odd jobs as may be available. For example, Monroe County, being a fruit and farm belt, has a rather large transient problem. The problem is at a minimum during the summer but in the fall and winter these workers return to Rochester, which is the largest city in the county and is looked upon as a headquarters for any possible employment opportunities. Over 60 percent of the men coming to Rochester and applying for meals and lodging while they wait for employment claim that they formerly worked during the fruit season on farms in the vicinity. During the past year, the age range of transients known to the county welfare department has been as follows: 10 percent between 21 and 40 years, 30 percent between 41 and 50 years, 55 percent between 51 and 65 years, and 5 percent between 66 and 70 years. About 70 percent of all transients cared for were, in the opinion of the social investigator and according to their own statements, employable, while 20 percent were ill and received medical attention, and 10 percent had physical defects which prevented them from securing work. About 85 percent of the employable transients in this county are able to do labor work, 10 percent do restaurant work, and 5 percent are skilled or "white collar" workers. About 80 percent are citizens and 20 percent are aliens or cannot prove citizenship.

Data on occupational classification of transients are so meager as to be almost nonexistent. The fact, however, that industrial workers must often move across State lines in order to better themselves is, nevertheless, unquestionable. We have instances on record where the initiative in moving into New York from another State was taken by the employer rather than the worker. Having plants in different States, an employer will sometimes encourage his workers to move, only to leave them stranded when a slack period comes. This has been especially serious in Lackawanna and East Rochester in recent years.

An illustration of the interstate movement of employable industrial workers is found in figures released by the Social Security Board showing the number of initial claims for unemployment benefits received from workers living in a given State and forwarded to another State for collection. The reverse of the picture is also shown in figures for initial claims received by a State which is liable for payment from workers now living in other States. New York, for example, received approximately 5,500 initial claims for unemployment-insurance benefits during the period October–December 1939 from persons living in other States whose rights to benefits had been earned through employment in New York State factories. During the same period New York forwarded to other States approximately 5,400 claims of persons who had moved into New York after earning rights to benefits elsewhere. These figures are significant in two ways: First, they show that workers who have been long enough employed within a given State to obtain benefit rights have felt the necessity of moving elsewhere to obtain further employment, and in the second place, unless jobs are found in the locality to which these workers have moved, many may become public charges before they have had time to acquire legal settlement.

NEW YORK HAS SPECIAL PROBLEMS

New York City, because of its position as a great seaport as well as a great industrial center, has certain special phases of the transient problem to contend with. About one-third of the State charges in New York City, for example, are people who have come from Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico has no social-security program; no local public program for relief; inadequate facilities for care of the indigent sick; and a large volume of unemployment among its working classes. Consequently, there is a large influx from Puerto Rico into New York City, and these people are totally unprepared to face the new conditions confronting them. A severe winter climate and little opportunity for employment along any line for which they are equipped await these newcomers. Although, in general, these people are able to subsist for from 3 to 6 months without applying for public assistance, many are then forced to do so.

In New York City there is a considerable group of seamen who become stranded between opportunities for work and who have no settlement in this State. This situation involves not only those whose homes, if any, are in other States but also those who come from foreign countries. At the present moment, workers on ships, docks, and other marine activities have been definitely affected by the sudden dislocation of the export business resulting from the war.

Numbers of Negroes from Southern States come to New York City, most of them attempting to find work, and many of them knowing that relief in this State is more adequate than in the South in the event that work is not to be had. The suburban areas of Westchester and Long Island attract Negro women hoping to find employment as domestics in the homes of well-to-do persons. When permanent positions are not to be found, many of these women apply for relief rather than attempt to return to the South.

Buffalo, the State's second largest city, has long had a transient problem of serious proportions. It was here that the first municipal lodging house in America was established to shelter the homeless. Important among the factors contributing to the transient load is Buffalo's position as a port through which all the diversified commerce of the Great Lakes passes. It is not only a port but a railroad center—a point of transfer from water to rail traffic. There is also considerable seasonal agricultural labor in the adjacent counties along the lakes—labor which is attracted to the city in the fall and winter. Buffalo has also to cope with certain problems arising from its position as a border city.

A difficult situation has developed recently at Schenectady, where a large number of tanks are to be manufactured for the Army. News of the award of this contract has brought many unemployed men to that city who cannot be placed in jobs because they lack the necessary skill. Many of these men are entirely without funds.

METHOD OF HANDLING MIGRANT QUESTION IN NEW YORK

We have described several different types of persons making up the group known as transients, indicating in general the causes of their movement from one locale to another. What, then, is New York State doing to meet the needs of these people? I am glad to say that the same forms of public aid and care as are available to needy persons everywhere throughout the State are also available to the transient group. Public assistance, medical care, hospitalization, foster care for children, all are available to the needy nonsettled population. Since July 1, 1937, the State has borne the responsibility for the cost of caring for all nonsettled persons residing in this State. The actual granting of aid, however, is administered by the local commissioners of public welfare. In accepting financial responsibility for this group, the State necessarily requires that the fact of nonsettlement be verified by the local districts administering relief as a prerequisite for obtaining the 100-percent reimbursement by the State for the cost of assistance rendered. In cases where the nonsettled status cannot be verified, the local districts receive only the usual 40-percent reimbursement which applies to general relief, or as we call it, home relief.

While, in general, the quality of transient care has greatly improved with State participation and supervision, the wandering single man is still subjected to some hardship in that he is usually given meals and shelter for a few days at the most and passed on by the local district to the next community. This practice of passing on has carried over into the new State charges program of New York largely because it is difficult, time-consuming, and expensive for the local districts to obtain documentary proof of the nonsettled status of these single men. Rather than go to the considerable expense and trouble involved, the local district assumes their care for one or several days and urges them on their way.

Four of the large cities in the State have municipal lodging houses for transients and local homeless persons. On June 30, 1940, the number of registered and under care in these lodging houses was as follows: New York City, 6,346; Yonkers, 82; Syracuse, 201; Buffalo, 1,606. In most cities, the wayfaring transients are cared for by rescue missions, Salvation Army shelters, and other private agencies financed mainly by private philanthropy. There are 79 such agencies in this State.

In 1939 the records indicate the private agencies served 219,052 individuals, providing 621,630 nights' lodging and 1,791,014 meals. The public homes, maintained by counties and cities, served 29,483 individuals, providing 47,580 nights' lodging and 113,038 meals. The figures for individuals involve considerable duplication since these agencies usually serve the local homeless as well as the transient. It is the custom of these agencies and institutions generally to report each visit to the shelter as a separate case. These figures are, therefore, valueless as a measuring rod in relation to the actual number of persons served.

The cost of caring for State charges within the general public-assistance program is increasing each year. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1938, a total of $1,700,000 was spent by the State for cases having no settlement within its borders. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1939, $2,571,000 was spent. It is not possible to give complete figures for the fiscal year just ended because the accounts are not all in, but the amount is expected to run well over $3,000,000.

Because of the difference in settlement laws and the difference in relief standards among the States, there exists an incentive for indigent persons to migrate to a State like New York where standards of relief are higher. Consequently, the State must protect itself against the cost of maintaining such transients by arranging for their removal under proper safeguards to other places where they have settlement.

The policy of the State department of social welfare in this matter of removal is not based merely upon the necessity of protecting State finances, but involves a thorough consideration of the human needs and rights of the persons concerned. This policy is expressed in the State Charges Informational Bulletin No. SS–1, issued by the department on July 6, 1937, at the inception of the new program, reading as follows:

"The removal of State charges by departments of public welfare should not be effected until settlement is definitely established and an authorization has been received for the return of any such person from the authorized officials in the locality of settlement. Each proposed removal must be considered on a casework basis and a return effected only when the commissioner of public welfare is satisfied that the welfare of the person and the interest of the State will thereby be promoted. State charges requiring temporary relief and care should be given a reasonable opportunity for rehabilitation unless they desire to return voluntarily.

"No removal of a State charge under medical care shall be made unless a certificate is secured from the physician or superintendent of the institution indicating that the patient is able to travel. Responsible public welfare officials and interested persons in other States should be informed in advance when a removal is contemplated in order that necessary arrangements for care may be made on arrival * * *."

It will be noted that no person is removed from the State unless settlement elsewhere is proved and unless the commissioner of the local public welfare district effecting the removal has definite authorization from the place of settlement to return the person to that community. Under the safeguards indicated, 3,781 persons were removed from the State in the year ended June 30, 1939, at a cost of $68,451. In the past fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, there were 2,048 persons removed at a cost of $34,273.

PROBLEM BELONGS TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Because the problem of transiency is interstate in character, it is beyond the capacity of the States left to themselves to deal with it adequately. This problem, viewed from any and all aspects, is national in its nature and beyond any question is one which primarily belongs to the Federal Government. Participation by the Federal Government in a major degree is an absolute necessity to any comprehensive program. It is not equitable to leave the financial burden of care for migrants upon State and local governments, because the volume of transiency is so unevenly distributed among the States and practically uncontrollable by any State. The Federal Government should not be asked, however, to meet the entire cost of such care since each community contributes to the stream of transiency.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It would seem that the proper course to follow would be for the Federal Government, through the Social Security Board, to establish a new category of public assistance through which care might be provided for the nonsettled person. Such a procedure would be economical and would also allow for the integration of relief administration within the present Federal-State-local structure. If the Social Security Board was to follow its usual plan of asking the individual States to present a specific plan which had to be related to a general over-all pattern established by the Federal Government, it would also be possible and practical to allow for the variations and peculiarities which are implicit in the several State situations. There would also be included in such a proposal the valuable principal of either State or local administration with Federal or State supervision, as the case might be, similar to that which now exists in the administration of old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and assistance to the blind.

It is necessary to stress the importance of having such a program administered by either the State directly or by a State-local administration. The experience of the past has clearly indicated that the Federal administration of any program for the care of the migrant is not conducive either to good administration or to the well-being of the persons in receipt of care. It will be recalled that at one time there was such a federally administered program. The success which the Federal Government has obtained in the administration of the other categories of public assistance ought to determine the pattern for any future development or expansion of the public-assistance program.

I should also like to stress the fact that in this particular category there should be a very real difference from the existing policy of the Federal Social Security Board insofar as the financial aspects are concerned. The very nature of the problem would call for a major financial burden being placed upon the Federal Treasury. If it were not for the fact that experience shows that when there are several units of government cooperating in a particular program, each should bear a share of the financial costs, I would advocate that the entire cost be placed upon the Federal Government. Because of the human element, I would advocate that the State and local units have a stake in any plan which is adopted. It might well be that the Federal Government would carry at least 90 percent of the cost, leaving the remaining 10 percent to be distributed between the State and local governments. If it were financed entirely from Federal moneys, States and localities would be sorely tempted to administer the program with their eyes on finances rather than on human values. Many other difficulties would follow in the wake of the entire financing of the program by the Federal authorities.

It would seem to me that the grants-in-aid principle should be conditional upon the States adopting specific provisions which would be uniform in all the States. For instance, it might provide for (1) a 1-year State settlement law; (2) continuance of settlement in one State until acquired in another; (3) uniform requirements as to other aspects of settlement, particularly as to the effect of marriage, desertion, and divorce upon the settlement status of the wife; and (4) uniform treatment of the settlement status of minors.

Federal participation by assuring more nearly uniform care and by removing the glaring differences in settlement laws, should on the one hand tend to reduce the volume of transient cases, and on the other hand take from State and local authorities much of the incentive for removing persons without valid consideration of all the social and economic factors which are involved. Finally, Federal participation, by the influence which is vested in any supervisory process, would eliminate the gross inadequacies and injustices of many of the practices which now prevail and which border definitely on discrimination against the nonsettled person in matters pertaining to the granting of relief. The nonresident person should not be separated from other persons who need care and given a status which almost involves contempt solely because he lacks the legal qualification of settlement. Poverty and illness are no respecters of legal technicalities.

The wisdom and fairness of establishing Federal responsibility for the support of interstate migrants has been acknowledged by every student of this question. New York, almost alone among the States, has demonstrated decent and adequate care of the nonsettled population, by dealing with transients as people, not outcasts. This experiment has proved that there is no undue shift in population traceable to the more adequate social program which New York has carried forward. We want to continue this kind of care and to see it extended in other States, but we doubt if the State of New York, unaided by the Federal authorities, can carry on such a program indefinitely in its present form.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID C. ADIE—Resumed

Mr. Osmers. I wonder if you would outline for the committee whom you represent.

Mr. Adie. That is contained in my statement.

As far as the State of New York is concerned, we generally feel that "transients" is a wrong title, we rather like to think of them as nonsettled people. "Transient" has been set apart in our American thinking as an undesirable person, by and large, and we, in the State administration, do not view it in that way.

We think of him as an unsettled person. Sometimes he is single and sometimes he is with his family. Usually he comes into the State unconscious of the fact that he is losing his settlement. He comes because he is in the general vicinity of the State, and he just happens to come, for instance, from New Jersey or Pennsylvania. He comes over the State line, and there are not any particular signs, and he does not know he is losing his legal status in the process.

Then, there is a group that is looking for specific jobs and they come to our State; for instance, we are experiencing at the present moment an increase of the migrant problem wherever we find defense orders coming out, such as at Schenectady, where they are now making Army tanks. There has been quite an increase of persons both intra- and interstate coming in the hope that they can get jobs.

I would like to emphasize that for every able-bodied person in our general relief families today there are three other unemployed persons in this State who are looking for work. Therefore, the unemployed person in the relief program has very great competition in relation to employment opportunities. That is the exact figure for this State, and I am sure it holds, generally speaking.

ADVOCATES VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR YOUNG MEN ON RELIEF

Mr. Curtis. At that point may I ask a question? Have you observed any discrimination of private employment against people who have been on relief by reason of that fact?

Mr. Adie. Well, the person on relief gets the last break. It will be necessarily so in the defense program, since that has to be on a selective basis. I am interested in seeing the defense program provide an opportunity for training for the men on relief, particularly the young men between the ages of 19 and 25 who have gone through the depression and never had a chance to work. It seems to me that it is essential in our defense program that we not only have something to defend but that we have the people with whom to defend it.

It is essential that these young men, who have been without any opportunity for work, get a chance to develop skills which can be applied in different ways. They may not always be employed necessarily to use those particular skills, but the possession of one industrial skill leads to the exercise of another.

My feeling is that it is a sound basis for establishing the defense program to take 50 percent of the trainees from the W. P. A. rolls and 50 percent from the public employment offices. The major difficulty will be in trying to integrate the younger men who are on the relief rolls. The tendency will be to take men who are already in industry and can be transferred rapidly, by retraining, from one branch to another.

It is generally believed in this State that the men who have been on relief and on W. P. A. are less desirable workers than the man who has been receiving unemployment insurance benefits, or who has not been on anything, but is just unemployed. Of course, that is a contention I would never admit for a moment. The fact is, last year we added 301,000 new relief cases, and we closed 330,000 cases. Sixty-six percent of those who had been moved off secured private employment.

To say that there is a fixed relief load in this or any other State is nonsense; the relief load is in a constant state of flux, and, public opinion to the contrary, the man who is out of work in America just wants one thing, and that is a job.

Mr. Osmers. How important by volume is the migrant problem in the relief picture of New York State?

Mr. Adie. You interrupted my definition of the types of relief for the transient. Do you want me to go on with that question first?

There is also a small group of men and women who have been made into rather different types of individuals because they are the product of society. But one might refer to them as a group of flotsam and jetsam, whose habits have been broken down and whose health has been broken down, but they are relatively few in comparison.

Now, to come to your second question, the problem of the nonsettled in the State of New York is not a comparatively heavy one.

Mr. Osmers. In what proportion?

Mr. Adie. Out of an average case load of about 250,000 a month it would run between 10,000 and 11,000. That would be divided, presumably, 6,000 or 7,000 of what we call general relief, and the remainder in health institutions.

Mr. Osmers. What was the number that you gave there, Commissioner?

Mr. Adie. The comparison is with 250,000 families, that are on general relief in all of the categories of the whole public-assistance program. The number of transient people, in our minds, runs anywhere from 3 to 5 percent of our problem.

THE FLOW OF MIGRATION IN NEW YORK STATE

Mr. Osmers. Is the problem more serious in some sections of the State, and what sections are they?

Mr. Adie. The problem generally is more serious around the urban area. You get a pretty heavy load in New York City, an outstanding location, and in Buffalo, a border city and a port, a train center and transportation center. Rochester gets it because of its relationship to the crops, and Syracuse in the same way, and Binghamton because of its relationship to Pennsylvania; there is a constant flow, back and forth, of population. But it is the urban centers to which they gravitate.

Mr. Osmers. You say that they have come to these various sections. Do most of them leave, or do most of these that you have referred to stay in New York State—those that come into Buffalo because it is a port and because it is a transportation center and a border city?

Mr. Adie. Most of them, of course, do not stay in any one place. They stay for a period and then they go. It is a fluctuation. For instance, in a very hard winter in Buffalo you would see the county lodging house filled to the roof, but if you go up there now you will find the lodging house is comparatively unnecessary, socially.

Mr. Osmers. Would you say that these transients are generally employable, or not?

Mr. Adie. Oh, yes.

Mr. Osmers. Most of them are?

Mr. Adie. Yes; they are.

Mr. Osmers. Do you find among them a great number of self-reliant men and women who have been somewhat hardened by being transients, so that they can make a go of things pretty generally?

Mr. Adie. Our general feeling in the State administration is that we have not broken the morale of the American people in spite of the depression, but it is the depression that breaks them.

A great many of the people in the lodging houses, for instance, suffer from what they think is inadequate and poor food—and a great many of them eat, and have to eat by economic compulsion, in places where the food is not properly cooked and does create a good many gastric conditions. Our feeling is that anyone of us is subject to deterioration if we are long enough "on the pan."

Mr. Osmers. You mean some people's resistance is greater than others?

Mr. Adie. It depends on the "breaks" you get.

Mr. Osmers. Most of them, most of our American citizens who have been affected adversely by the depression, are holding up pretty well, I gather from your opinion?

Mr. Adie. Where relief is adequate; yes.

Mr. Osmers. One of the reasons for the formation of this committee is that a lot of them have moved out of places where relief is inadequate, and that has brought about quite a problem.

Mr. Adie. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Now, the State cares for these transients through assisting the localities; is that correct? I think that Mr. Astrofsky covered that part of the question.

Mr. Adie. The State pays 100 percent for the care of the nonsettled, who are known to be nonsettled by documentary evidence.

Mr. Osmers. Do private agencies participate a great deal in the care of transients or not?

Mr. Adie. They carry a very small proportion of the load.

Mr. Osmers. A small proportion?

Mr. ADIE. The smaller the city, the more they do. New York City's private agencies do a good deal, too. But when you get into the smaller cities, organizations like the Red Cross and the Salvation Army do some of the work.

Mr. OSMERS. And churches, and things like that, all participate?

Mr. ADIE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, New York State has been carrying on this work, and has there been any great change in the amount of money expended to transients in the past 5 years or so?

Mr. ADIE. Oh, yes; we have more than doubled our costs in the last 3 years.

Mr. OSMERS. You have more than doubled it in the last 3 years?

Mr. ADIE. It started in at about a million and a half, and this year it will be over $3,000,000, and that is not the whole bill, either, because there are certain institutional cases that we are not carrying in the State, in certain sections, so that I would say it is conservative to say that we have more than doubled our cost.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the total cost at present in dollars?

Mr. ADIE. A little over $3,000,000 a year.

Mr. OSMERS. Proceed with the previous question.

Mr. ADIE. The third group is composed of those who move about in connection with their vocations but have no intention of settling permanently; those who come with the idea of staying for the duration of the immediate employment. They expect to go back, but often they do not.

Then, there is the group which moves along from one domicile to another without any guaranty of a job. They are in the so-called floating class.

There are also those in our State who follow the crops. As you gentlemen probably know, agriculture is still the number one industry in the State of New York. We have, then, gatherers of crops, particularly fruit, berries, and vegetables.

Generally speaking, that would carry the vast bulk of nonsettled persons in New York State.

STATE PAYS WHOLE COST OF RELIEF TO "UNSETTLED PERSONS"

Well, the basic control is that we do not set aside any program for the so-called transient, as such; we do not differentiate him from anyone else. The technical term we use is "State charge." The procedure is something like this: If a transient comes into any locality in the State of New York and is in need, he would go immediately to the local public welfare official in the district in which he finds himself. If the local official becomes aware of the fact that he is a nonsettled person, or presumed to be nonsettled, he administers relief in exactly the same way as he would to anyone else.

In other words, it is on a definite budget basis. He is served by a case worker when he is in a domicile, and sometimes he is served in a building such as a county lodging house. In a municipal county lodging house there are set up medical controls, sanitary controls, and a general relationship with a small amount of case work. The general case work emphasis relates to the persons living in the home.

The case would then be listed in the record as a presumptive State-charge case, and so reported to the State of New York. The State would then, on the monthly rolls, pay back to the local commissioner 40 percent of the money spent on this person as long as he is a presumptive case. The local commissioner would then write to the individual's place of settlement in an effort to determine whether or not the case is acceptable to that State or that locality. You can readily understand that it is not an easy thing to do. Sometimes the workers must check with the corner grocer, with doctors and school teachers, or anyone else with whom the individual has had dealings, to prove that he had resided in that area.

If the person is proved to be a nonsettled case, the State would reimburse the locality for 100 percent of the care given to him; from the date on which the State had been advised that he had gone on the rolls as a presumptive case.

Mr. **Osmers.** That would be retroactive?

Mr. **Adie.** Yes; to the date on which the State was notified.

DENIES STATE "DEPORTS" RELIEF RECIPIENTS

Recently there was a press release to the effect that the State of New York was deporting people. I would like to say for the record that we never "deport" people in this State. At least, we do not deport them through the relief administration.

I am glad to say that the State of New York has kept people in the State who are nonsettled, because we believe that it is to the advantage of the person and to the advantage of the State for that person to remain.

We never send people out of the State unless we honestly feel that it is to the advantage socially and economically of the person to be moved, or where we have got a person who is an institutional case, where it is a matter of no gain to that person and no gain to the State, and we are assured by the other State that the person will get adequate institutional care.

So that while it is true that we do move people, and we have to move people under our present laws, if we did not, we would go broke on a pyramiding process, but I would like to make clear to the committee and to the press that we are not in the business of deporting people from the State of New York. We do give consideration to that person and his family. And if it is advantageous that a person go back to his place of settlement, he should go back, and that case is an example.

Mr. **Osmers.** Under the present circumstances, you have pointed out that the load has increased twofold in the last 3 years; would you say that it would be possible for this State to continue with its transient program?

Mr. **Adie.** Obviously not, obviously not; I do not think the legislature is going to hold the bag indefinitely.

Illinois raised its settlement law to 3 years, Pennsylvania to 2 years, and that process is going to go on in America. Instead of looking toward uniformity we are going in the opposite direction. We cannot go on as we are doing. In other words, the lack of a progressive program in the United States inevitably will break down what we are trying to do in the State of New York. We do not boast about this program, but we are trying to do more than we are legally expected to do.

RECOMMENDS FEDERAL PROGRAM FOR MIGRANTS

Mr. OSMERS. Now, is it your opinion, Commissioner, that the Federal Government eventually will have to step into this transient problem?

Mr. ADIE. Yes; I think the Federal Government should never have left this program. In my judgment, that problem should be handled by the Social Security Board. It ought to be administered locally, of course, but it ought to be set up along this line: The category should be set up by the Federal Government, and in my judgment the Federal Government should pay at least 90 percent of the cost, leaving 10 percent of the cost to be carried by the States and the localities on the principle that no government unit should administer any program that it does not have a share in paying for.

It is unwise to give any administration all of the money; it will treat its cases in term of finances and will often forget the human element. That is inevitable, but it ought to be a locally administered program, with State supervision, and done within a set-up of the Social Security Board just the same as the other programs is being carried on for the aged, or the dependent children, or the blind.

Of course, I look for the day to come when the Federal Government will take a share in the general relief. It should take a share in the general relief. Its W. P. A. program has never reached, in this State, more than 30 percent of the unemployed people, and despite all of the benefits that W. P. A. has given, it still has lacked that ability to reach all of the people.

But a broad economic stage must be found—the broadest economic stage must be found, for this relief problem, and I think the Federal Government should be in this, as a sharing partner, with grants-in-aid, but not as an administrative unit.

Mr. OSMERS. Commissioner Adie, due to the fact that the W. P. A. costs more per case than general relief, as a general thing, I understand, do you feel that the Federal Government should abandon W. P. A. and devote its financial support to general relief?

Mr. ADIE. I hope we will never, in America, have one program. I do not think one program will meet our situation. We should have a work program, an adequate program of work, and an adequate general relief program, as well as a categorical program.

But I hope the day will come when America will find the basis of a work program which will not necessitate a man being declared a dependent before he gets work.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, you feel that the W. P. A., as presently constituted, has certain disadvantages compared with a P. W. A. type of program, which was also a work program, but did not require the man to be a relief case before he could work on a project?

Mr. ADIE. I do not agree with your point of view in that sense.

Mr. OSMERS. I do not have any point of view, I am just trying to bring out your opinion on it.

PROPOSES BROAD WORKS PROGRAM

Mr. ADIE. I do believe in a work program that is within the economic order so far as you can put it within the existing economic order, but that will not meet the problem as we see it in the administration of relief. In my judgment, two other types of general works programs will have to go along with this. One will be a works program that will be established by the communities on a basis of valid work, but not of the dimensions that would call for contractual labor, and then some special types of projects that will meet the multiplicity of skills that people have, because the program today, as we are now operating in America literally we say to a man, "You are unemployed because we have not a project that will fit you."

A municipality like New York City, for instance, could develop great programs, cleaning the beaches, keeping the parks under control from the standpoint of horticulture, or whatever you call it; a great many different kinds of projects could be developed in such a city to meet the needs of men who are not highly skilled, or unskilled workers, such as white-collar people.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel, Commissioner, that over a period of time works programs, extended works programs, are too costly for the community, the State, or the country to bear?

Mr. Adie. Well, that is exactly part of what is in my mind. You could easily develop a works program in this country that would give us so many public properties, that we would find difficulty in maintaining on the local tax rolls, from a maintenance point of view. And on the other hand, you can turn to a great many different new types of project, such as housing. I am convinced that you cannot adequately house the people of America until you have a great expansion of public housing, because it is nonprofitable from a private point of view.

We could go on for 10 or 15 years building houses, and even then we would not begin to meet the need of the American people from a housing point of view. That could be done with a strict P. W. A. program.

Mr. Osmers. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Parsons. What would happen to your direct relief program if the W. P. A. should be suddenly stopped?

Mr. Adie. I would not worry so much about the program as I would about the communities. You could not afford to have such a thing happen in America.

Mr. Parsons. Your relief needs would grow to such proportions in the State of New York that the State would be unable to take care of them.

Mr. Adie. Certainly, the relief needs of the State of New York are being met today by the communities under great pressure.

We are not as wealthy a State as our social program would indicate. Many of our communities are having a very difficult time to maintain a general relief program on the status that we have in the State of New York. I hope we will be able to maintain our standards, but unless the Federal Government is going to share in the general administration of relief across the board, I have very real doubts that the State of New York can maintain its relief standards very much longer.

Mr. Parsons. Can you tell us what might have been the conditions in New York State if the Federal Government had not come to the relief of the State and municipalities from 1933 until the present time, with either Federal grants in aid or the W. P. A. program?

Mr. Adie. I don't think there are any words to describe what would have happened if the Government had not done that.

Mr. Parsons. You think that there would be a chaotic condition existing?

Mr. Adie. Oh, that is a mild statement. The fact is, taxation by real estate and sales taxes would have been about our only means of meeting that problem. We must realize the State of New York is expending today about $208,000,000 a year in its relief program. We cannot carry on a moderate relief program on a local relief basis any more—that will never come back; the sooner we get on to the broadest possible tax base for our welfare programs and the sooner we realize that welfare is a permanent instrument in Government, just as education is, the sooner we will begin to do some real social planning, in my judgment.

Mr. Osmers. You feel that the relief program is almost, at its present extent, a permanent institution in our civilization in America today?

Mr. Adie. I do not want to call it a relief program, Congressman; 40 percent of the home relief families today have not an able-bodied person in the family.

Mr. Parsons. What percentage is that?

Mr. Adie. Forty percent, and then add to that the aid to dependent children cases, the cases of the aged, and the blind, and you have got a great group of people who will have to be provided some kind of public aid.

There are also the people who are the casualties of this depression, because a depression causes casualties the same as anything else, and there is always the problem of sickness and disability, and there is always the problem of broken homes, and all of the factors that go into the breaking up of homes.

We never have been at any time in civilization without some kind of a relief administration, and what has happened in America, in my judgment, is that America has become socially conscious to the degree where it has made up its mind that social consciousness must apply to the Government, and that has caused us to feel a new relationship toward our fellow citizens who are in need.

Mr. Parsons. How many years have you been connected with the State welfare department?

Mr. Adie. I have been with the State welfare department for 8 years as its commissioner, and I have been engaged in social work for approximately 20 years more.

STATE'S PART IN ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF

Mr. Parsons. What was the contribution by the State, municipalities, and private charities prior to 1929 for the State of New York?

Mr. Adie. The State of New York was not in the administration of relief prior to 1929. It took cognizance of relief in 1931 when Governor Roosevelt and the legislature passed what was called the Wicks Act, which was the forerunner of all of the large relief administrations in America.

Governor Roosevelt also in 1929 revised the public welfare law, which abolished the old Elizabethan concept of the poor laws and gave us a welfare law on the basis of care and need and not on need only.

That was followed by the first move toward the care of the aged, to what was known as the Old Age Security Act, and which is very much the same as your present Social Security Act. In 1915 the State had a law that dealt with aid to dependent children, through what we call boards of child welfare, but even then the State made no contribution, it was a local government contribution, and the relief problem in this State was handled largely by private agencies.

Mr. PARSONS. You had an old-age assistance act before Congress passed the Federal Security Act?

Mr. ADIE. We had everything that is now in the Social Security Act, outside of insurance, before the Social Security Act was passed.

Mr. PARSONS. What were the rates of the first law that you had in New York?

Mr. ADIE. The same as they are today—you mean old-age assistance?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. ADIE. Yes; they were the same, it was dealt with on the basis of a budgetary need of the family.

Mr. PARSONS. With a maximum of how much per month?

Mr. ADIE. We have no maximum, and no minimum, in any relief category in the State of New York. It is based on the family or the individual's needs, according to a budget basis.

Mr. PARSONS. Some families or some aged people with dependents might be rated at $40, or $50, or $60 a month, and the others at $25 or $30, depending upon the budget?

Mr. ADIE. Depending upon the budget and the actual social situation.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, the Federal Government has been increasing its debt during the years of the depression, starting in 1930, which was the first large deficit year, and there has been a deficit ever since in the Federal budget. I assume there have been some deficits in the State of New York; are they balancing their budget now?

Mr. ADIE. Well, I do not know what you mean by a balanced budget.

Mr. PARSONS. The State is taking in sufficient revenue to pay its operating expenses of every kind and nature?

Mr. ADIE. Oh, no; the State of New York has a deficit, and has had a deficit for the last several years, but the relief deficit in this State this year, as of June 30, was only a paper deficit, in that the legislature meets every year in this State, so when I project my relief approximately ahead for my relief needs, the legislature does not necessarily give me all that I have projected, because they know that they will be in session again in January or February. So we never get the appropriation to meet our estimated needs, although our hope has always been that we would turn that corner.

We have always been hoping against hope that the relief would go down, and now relief is going down, and we are $1,000,000 less on our estimated deficit as of June 30 than when we projected it.

Mr. PARSONS. But the State of New York is borrowing money to pay at least some of its operating expenses.

Mr. ADIE. Not for relief.

Mr. PARSONS. But the entire State expenses, as a whole—the State of New York is not taking in sufficient revenue to pay all of its expenses, including relief and all other matters. Now what I am leading up to is, what is to be the answer in the end, with increasing debts in the States of the Union, taking care of this problem, and the increasing debt of the Federal Government? You say that you want a larger and broader program of both taxation and of work and relief needs and care. If every State and every municipality and the Federal Government continues to increase the debt, what is the answer in the end?

Mr. ADIE. Well, certainly you are not expecting me this afternoon to set forth my views on taxation; I am perfectly willing to entertain you if you are, but I do not think that that is what you are driving at. You know that it is a very complicated problem.

Mr. PARSONS. It is very difficult, but it is not entirely far afield from this committee's work.

Mr. ADIE. But I am not trying to be facetious.

Mr. PARSONS. No; and it is not entirely far afield from the jurisdiction of this committee either, because we, as Members of Congress, have to meet that problem every year in the making of appropriations, and each State legislature has to meet that problem, and each city council has to meet it. You have had experience in the State of New York and I would like to have your views on it, just briefly.

Mr. ADIE. Well, I would like to refer only to the matter of relief, because I am not capable of discussing other questions—I don't know what I would do about education, for instance. As a private citizen I have very positive views on that, but I do not know how I would tackle the vast, complicated, cumbersome, expensive system of tax services, and tax systems and the lack of orientation in the whole field, in which I feel sure that there is a great deal of economy to be effected.

I still hope and believe that the American people are not at their maximum from an industrial point of view, and that the national income as such is capable of considerable development. I see no reason to be pessimistic about the industrial situation.

I think there is a very real need for broadening taxes in America—but now you are getting me on to a discussion of taxes. I believe it is enough for me to say for this record that it is inevitable that our social costs in America will have to be faced, and that all citizens, irrespective of whether they are well-to-do or self-sustaining, will have to find some way of sharing in a democratic form of government; to assume that this problem can be borne by any one group in a community is, in my judgment, a fallacy. To assume that we must effect all of our economies in government at the expense of our social programs is not only a fallacy, in my judgment, but would be a disastrous thing to happen.

I do not feel competent to discuss the field of taxation, but I do know that there is great need for social planning, and integration, and cooperation, that we have not had up to the present time; and remember, we have only experienced 10 years of a Federal, State, and local governmental program in this business, and we have not learned an awful lot in 10 years. I think that we are learning more and more as we go along.

Mr. PARSONS. The big problem that is facing us, as I said, and facing the State legislatures, is the fact that very few States are keeping within their revenues; and the Federal Government, of course, has not been keeping within its revenues for 10 years, and there must be an end to those expenditures.

Mr. **Adie.** Of course, the time will come when, as you build up your insurances, these insurances will offset some of your relief. That will have to be some years ahead yet, but you are building up a backlog.

I think, too as we go ahead with more medical care for people, we are going to find that it is an economical thing to do, to keep people well, and losses that are involved in medical care are very real. But I would not be presumptive enough to say that I can outline for you, a Representative in Congress, what the tax problem should be, or how it should be met.

I would agree with you, of course, that no community within itself, local, State, or Nation, can go on permanently spending more than it takes in.

Mr. **Parsons.** If the present Social Security Act, with all of its various subdivisions, had been passed in 1915, and we had been collecting the unemployment tax, and the old-age-assistance tax, and so forth, from that date until 1925, through the period of great employment, and high wages, based upon what we anticipate such rates will be in the next 15 years, we would have had approximately a $25,000,000,000 fund with which to meet the unemployment problem, as we expect to do in the future as this fund is built up, and we have like periods of unemployment to come in the future. Would that have taken care of the situation during the last 10 years, if such a law had been in force and such a fund built up from 1915 to 1929?

Mr. **Adie.** You mean that you anticipate that you are going to make your insurance pay for the welfare program?

Mr. **Parsons.** That is right.

Mr. **Adie.** I would not go along with you on that. I do not think that you can jeopardize your insurance that way; social insurance, public social insurance should not be jeopardized any more than private insurance should be jeopardized, and the day may come when we will need these reserves and more, and I don't think that we should charge the net results of industrial break-down to a fund that is paid by the worker to protect himself, from an insurance point of view.

Mr. **Parsons.** You probably misunderstood me to some extent, but what we are paying for under the unemployment tax, is to take care of persons during the seasonal fluctuations in employment, and what we are paying into the old-age-security fund, that is to take care of the worker at the age of 65 and beyond. If we had done that from 1915 to 1929, it would have taken care of a great part of this relief program, would it not?

Mr. **Adie.** Oh, yes; there is no question about that, but you will remember that when President Theodore Roosevelt was in office, he proposed not only a workmen's compensation act, but he also proposed certain other forms of industrial insurance, unemployment insurance, and other kinds. We had to abandon that, because the American social consciousness had not yet arrived at the place in 1913, where it was ready to adopt those laws. The proposals were not put through at that time.

Mr. **Parsons.** That is all.

Mr. **Osmers.** That will be all, Dr. Adie, and thank you very much.

Mr. **Parsons.** Thank you very much, Dr. Adie; you have made a very fine statement.

TESTIMONY OF JOE FRANK HOLLOMAN, PORT NORRIS, N. J.

Mr. **Osmers.** Will Mr. Joe Frank Holloman come up to the stand, please?

What is your occupation?

Mr. **Holloman.** At this time I am shucking oysters.

Mr. **Osmers.** Where do you live now, and how long have you lived there?

Mr. **Holloman.** Port Norris, N. J. I have been living at Port Norris since 1936, off and on.

Mr. **Osmers.** Before you came to the shell pile down at Port Norris, where did you live?

Mr. **Holloman.** At Crisfield, Md.

Mr. **Osmers.** Are you married?

Mr. **Holloman.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** How many children do you have?

Mr. **Holloman.** Nine children.

Mr. **Osmers.** Where are your wife and children at the present time?

Mr. **Holloman.** Here in New York.

Mr. **Osmers.** In New York City?

Mr. **Holloman.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** And you are in Port Norris, N. J.?

Mr. **Holloman.** Yes.

Mr. **Osmers.** Did you ever live at Portsmouth, Va.?

Mr. **Holloman.** I was born and raised there.

Mr. **Osmers.** And what did you do down there for a living in Portsmouth?

Mr. **Holloman.** Well, my last job there I worked for a coal company, where they ship coal in ships; that was my last job there. I worked on that job for 14 years.

Mr. **Osmers.** That is at one of those coal-loading stations at Norfolk, Va.?

Mr. **Holloman.** Yes. I was timekeeper there, and checker, and pay boss. After the World War the conditions got to be such after they installed an electric timer and laid off men and trade fell off, I could not make a living for my family and myself and I left there.

Mr. **Osmers.** How much did you make when you were working in that coal-loading station?

Mr. **Holloman.** Well, I guess it was $25 a week, the biggest part of the time.

Mr. **Osmers.** The biggest part of the 14 years you made that?

Mr. **Holloman.** During the World War.

Mr. **Osmers.** What did you make at your other occupations in Portsmouth, Va.?

Mr. **Holloman.** Before that or after?

Mr. **Osmers.** Before and after.

Mr. **Holloman.** Well, it is hard to tell what I did make; sometimes I did not make anything, and sometimes I made good, because I had so many different jobs. Sometimes I was a huckster, and sometimes I was clerking at bar, and sometimes I was working as janitor, and just odd jobs that I could get.

Mr. **Osmers.** How old are you?

Mr. **Holloman.** Sixty-one years old.

Mr. Osmers. You were born in Portsmouth, Va.?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. In Norfolk County?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. During your entire stay in Norfolk County were you ever on public relief, or public assistance, or charity?

Mr. Holloman. Not there; no.

Mr. Osmers. And when did you move from there to Crisfield?

Mr. Holloman. In 1929.

Mr. Osmers. In 1929?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. What did you do at Crisfield?

Mr. Holloman. Well, I shucked oysters there one season, and after I got through shucking oysters I worked at the lime plant there for a year.

Mr. Osmers. For what plant?

Mr. Holloman. The lime plant, where they make chick; it is scrap for chicken feed, to feed young chickens on.

Mr. Osmers. That is a part of chicken feed?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. And how much did you earn in Crisfield as an oyster shucker?

Mr. Holloman. Well, the run was poor, but I think one season there I earned $50; that is what I earned.

Mr. Osmers. You earned $50?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. What do you mean by a season?

Mr. Holloman. That is, from December until March.

Mr. Osmers. The total earnings were $50?

Mr. Holloman. Yes; shucking was very poor there.

Mr. Osmers. Did you have to get public relief or private charity in order to live in Crisfield, or could you live on that?

Mr. Holloman. Well, I managed to live on it; I was a stranger there.

Mr. Osmers. You did pretty well for a stranger, I think, living 4 months on $50. Where did you live when you were in Crisfield?

Mr. Holloman. A section that they called Hot Pine, a little section away where the oyster industry was. The packers had shanties there for the help.

Mr. Osmers. Did they charge you any rent for those?

Mr. Holloman. Twenty-five cents a week.

Mr. Osmers. That is $1 a month rent.

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. What sort of accommodations were they?

Mr. Holloman. The poorest kind.

Mr. Osmers. Yes; I dare say they must have been. When did you come to Port Norris, in New Jersey?

Mr. Holloman. I came to the Port Norris section in 1936, and I stopped on the other side of the river, what they call Marsh River, and I stayed over there and I moved over in another section called Bivalve, and the coming season I moved up to Port Norris.

Mr. Osmers. How much have you been making in Port Norris?

Mr. Holloman. Well, I shuck on an average of—you mean shucking oysters?

Mr. Osmers. Yes.

Mr. Holloman. I make about $3.50 a day.

Mr. Osmers. And how long does that employment last?

Mr. Holloman. From December until March.

Mr. Osmers. December until March?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. What do you do the balance of the year?

Mr. Holloman. I do odd jobs. I pick beans, strawberries, and whatever I can get to do. Sometimes I work at the carpenter trade, a little.

Mr. Osmers. Have you been on public relief while you were in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. Holloman. Three weeks.

Mr. Osmers. Out of the years from 1936 to the present time?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. On what basis do they pay you for shucking oysters?

Mr. Holloman. By the pot.

Mr. Osmers. How much a pot?

Mr. Holloman. Thirty-five cents, and before we got the union they were paying 25 cents. After we got the union they paid 35 cents.

Mr. Osmers. You are now a member of the union?

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. How many hours a day did you have to work to make this $3.50?

Mr. Holloman. You might average 10 hours. You go to work at different hours. In the busy season around Christmas, we go to work on Sunday nights. We would be called out at 1 o'clock after Sunday and we worked possibly to 6 o'clock the next day, but when it is not so busy we go to work at 4 o'clock in the morning, and sometimes 6 o'clock in the morning, and I will average 10 hours a day.

Mr. Osmers. That is 10 hours a day to make $3.50?

Mr. Holloman. We are working by the piece, and there are other men that can shuck twice as many as I can.

Mr. Osmers. I see; there are faster shuckers than you are.

Mr. Holloman. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. And their earnings, of course, are double your earnings because they can shuck twice as many?

Mr. Holloman. Yes; they are young and it is more money for them.

Mr. Osmers. Have you received any unemployment compensation during the last 2 years?

Mr. Holloman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. You have?

Mr. Holloman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Now, you say that your family is living in New York, does that mean your wife and your nine children?

Mr. Holloman. My wife and nine children; yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Do you support them?

Mr. Holloman. No, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Do your children support themselves?

Mr. Holloman. They support themselves.

Mr. Osmers. Are they on relief any of the time?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. I don't know how they are living, I have not seen them since before this last past Christmas; last night I was with them, but there are nine children, the youngest one is 18 years old, and they are all able to support themselves. I guess that they might have been on relief, because other folks have been on relief, but they are able to work, when they can get jobs to support themselves, and my wife works and supports herself. My work was not sufficient to take care of her. It caused dissatisfaction to the family, and she broke up and came to New York.

Mr. OSMERS. Now your nine children and your wife do not all live in the same place?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. No, sir; they live in different places.

Mr. OSMERS. They are scattered, I suppose, around New York?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Yes; there are four children that are married, and they have families.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you satisfied with the conditions at Port Norris?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. I cannot do any better, but I am not satisfied.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the great cause of your dissatisfaction, your small earnings, or the bad living conditions?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. The small earnings and bad living conditions.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you feel that there could be, without upsetting the oyster industry in Port Norris, a great improvement in living conditions, and possibly wages?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Well, if they had any pressure put on them they could do better. They can do better. They have plenty of oysters, and plenty of money, and plenty of material to use to fix up with. I live in a shanty, and it leaked on my bed so I could not sleep at nights, and I went to the packers and told them about it, and they said, "Well, we will fix it in the spring." I went back, and he said, "I told you what we would do," and so I moved.

Mr. OSMERS. The living conditions are very poor?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you describe the quarters in which you live?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Well, the quarters where I am living now are tolerably fair, I am living up in back of a church, and I am taking care of the church for my keep.

Mr. OSMERS. I am not referring to that, I am referring to your shucker's quarters, where you pay your 75 cents a week.

Mr. HOLLOMAN. They are very poor, as I am telling you. During the season it was leaking on me, and I wanted them to fix it. The other shanties were in the same fix, but they did not fix them until they stopped shucking in the spring, and I moved out and some other folks moved out.

Mr. OSMERS. Where do you eat when you are shucking oysters?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. We cook in the shanties where we live.

Mr. OSMERS. Each man cooks for himself, at his own expense, and buys his own food and supplies, his own utensils, and what kind of heat do you use?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Some use oil and some coal or wood.

Mr. OSMERS. Everybody according to what he has, I suppose.

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any questions from the committee? Do you intend to continue at Port Norris?

Mr. HOLLOMAN. Yes; I am a minister there, and I am trying to develop a church.

Mr. Osmers. What religion is that?

Mr. Holloman. I am a Baptist.

Mr. Osmers. I believe that that will be all; thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN I. HEARD, FREEHOLD, N. J.

Mr. Parsons. What is your name?

Mr. Heard. John I. Heard.

Mr. Parsons. Where are you living now?

Mr. Heard. Freehold, N. J.

Mr. Parsons. When did you come to New Jersey?

Mr. Heard. July 6.

Mr. Parsons. Is that 1940?

Mr. Heard. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Where did you come from?

Mr. Heard. Georgia.

Mr. Parsons. Is Georgia your permanent home?

Mr. Heard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Are you married?

Mr. Heard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many children do you have?

Mr. Heard. One.

Mr. Parsons. How much education did you receive in Georgia before you came up here?

Mr. Heard. Junior high school.

Mr. Parsons. Why did you leave Georgia to come to New York?

Mr. Heard. I could make more money than the job I was working at paid.

Mr. Parsons. Are you making more money in New Jersey than you did in Georgia?

Mr. Heard. Well, I will; you see, it has not started yet.

Mr. Parsons. What did you do in Georgia before you came to New York?

Mr. Heard. I was a porter in a drug store.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you make per week?

Mr. Heard. $6 a week.

Mr. Parsons. That is $25 a month.

Mr. Heard. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Have you made that much in New Jersey since you came here?

Mr. Heard. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What have you been doing since you came to New Jersey?

Mr. Heard. Nothing; I have had one day and a half of work since I have been here.

Mr. Curtis. You are waiting for the potato crop?

Mr. Heard. The apple crop.

Mr. Parsons. You are an apple picker by profession?

Mr. Heard. Yes, sir; I pick apples.

Mr. Parsons. Did anyone else come with you; did you bring your wife and child?

Mr. Heard. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. They are still in Georgia?

Mr. Heard. Yes, they are still in Georgia.

Mr. Parsons. Have you sent them any money since you left?

Mr. Heard. I have not made any.

Mr. Parsons. Did you leave them with some?

Mr. Heard. I left them a little.

Mr. Parsons. How much?

Mr. Heard. About $6.

Mr. Parsons. Did you expect, when you left down there and came up here, that you were going to have steady employment?

Mr. Heard. Yes, sir; he wrote us to be here on the 6th of July.

Mr. Parsons. Who wrote you?

Mr. Heard. Mr. Carr.

Mr. Parsons. Who was he?

Mr. Heard. An apple grower. The boys have been coming up every week, and he told him to bring 20 men to be here by the 6th of July, and when we got here he said the season was 2 weeks late, and we did not have anything to do when we first got here.

Mr. Parsons. Is he furnishing you any subsistence or place to live during this time?

Mr. Heard. He furnishes us a house.

Mr. Parsons. How many live in that house?

Mr. Heard. Eighteen.

Mr. Parsons. Describe that house, the living conditions in it, and the furniture.

Mr. Heard. Well, it is just two little shack houses with bunks with hay on them, to sleep on, and we have a cook stove out there with a little shelter over the top to cook on.

Mr. Parsons. That is outside the house?

Mr. Heard. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Is it a shack or a frame shack?

Mr. Heard. A frame shack.

Mr. Parsons. Had you applied for any relief in Georgia before you left there?

Mr. Heard. I did in 1933.

Mr. Parsons. Was that the year you graduated from junior high school?

Mr. Heard. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Were you married at that time?

Mr. Heard. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did you receive any relief?

Mr. Heard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How much per month?

Mr. Heard. $12.

Mr. Parsons. $12 per month?

Mr. Heard. $12 a week.

Mr. Parsons. $48 per month relief down in Georgia?

Mr. Heard. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Were you working at the drug store during that period you were receiving relief?

Mr. Heard. No, sir; I was working on the drainage system.

Mr. Parsons. What were you making in private employment at the same time that you were receiving relief?

Mr. Heard. I was not getting any private employment.

Mr. Parsons. Oh, you worked on the drainage system when you were working?

Mr. HEARD. I was working on relief at that time.

Mr. PARSONS. When was the last job that you had on relief down in Georgia?

Mr. HEARD. The middle of February 1934.

Mr. PARSONS. Of 1934?

Mr. HEARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You have not drawn any relief since that time?

Mr. HEARD. Not since then.

Mr. PARSONS. You had been working at the drug store from that time until the time that you came to New Jersey?

Mr. HEARD. I went to Florida. I worked during the potato season in Florida; went from there back to Georgia. That is where I worked during the winter season.

Mr. PARSONS. So you have been what we might term a seasonal migrant to Florida and back to Georgia?

Mr. HEARD. For 2 years; yes, and then I worked at the drug store.

Mr. PARSONS. Then you decided to try the North, and this is your first trip north?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How do you like it in New Jersey?

Mr. HEARD. I like it all right, when I have something to do.

Mr. PARSONS. You were born on the farm?

Mr. HEARD. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. You never have done any farm work?

Mr. HEARD. I picked cotton.

Mr. PARSONS. You have picked cotton?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. In Georgia?

Mr. HEARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. And you have been a picker of fruit in Florida, and that is what you came to New Jersey to do?

Mr. HEARD. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. How long do you expect to remain in New Jersey?

Mr. HEARD. Till October.

Mr. PARSONS. And then you are going back to Georgia?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you bring anyone with you that has had experience in New Jersey before?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. How much have they been in the habit of making during the fruit picking season?

Mr. HEARD. $60 a month.

Mr. PARSONS. $60 a month?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Does the owner of the orchards furnish you a place to live and subsistence, that is, food to eat, while you are working for them.

Mr. HEARD. No; they just furnish a place to live, to sleep.

Mr. PARSONS. But you have to buy your own food?

Mr. HEARD. We have to buy our own food.

Mr. PARSONS. And do your own cooking?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. On $60 a month?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes.

Mr. **Parsons**. What are the sanitary conditions? Do you have water around that shack or an open well or a cistern or what?

Mr. **Heard**. We have a pump.

Mr. **Parsons**. What kind of toilets do you have?

Mr. **Heard**. We do not have any.

Mr. **Parsons**. Is the water good drinking water?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes, sir; the water is good water.

Mr. **Parsons**. So you expect to stay on this job if it opens up until October, and then you plan to return to Georgia?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes.

Mr. **Parsons**. Has your migration to Florida and out in the country in picking cotton in Georgia been satisfactory to you?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes, sir; while we are working.

Mr. **Parsons**. You enjoyed it?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. What plans do you have for the future, rather than just this summer's work?

Mr. **Heard**. Well, if I do not get anything else to do, I will go back to the drug-store job.

Mr. **Parsons**. Will that be open for you?

Mr. **Heard**. He told me if I could get anything better than what I was doing, to go and get it, and when I came back the job would be waiting for me.

Mr. **Parsons**. Has your wife worked any in the time that you have been married?

Mr. **Heard**. No, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. That is all, I think.

Mr. **Curtis**. You do not have any trouble getting back to Georgia, after you get out of work?

Mr. **Heard**. No, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. And you left your State, and in crossing to other States, with some promise of employment, you did not just wander away?

Mr. **Heard**. He wrote and told him to bring 20 men with him.

Mr. **Curtis**. And the season turned out to be late?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes.

Mr. **Curtis**. And you did not have any difficulty, or you will not have any difficulty in getting back, and if you are destitute this winter you will be considered a resident of Georgia?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. Do you have any trouble getting from one State to the other with a carload of workers; are there any barriers?

Mr. **Heard**. There were three cars that came up; one car had a little trouble; we did not.

Mr. **Curtis**. You mean they stopped them and wanted to know where they were going?

Mr. **Heard**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. Did he pay your transportation coming up?

Mr. **Heard**. No, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. And he does not pay it going back?

Mr. **Heard**. No, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman**. What did you have to pay this fellow who brought you up?

Mr. **Heard**. $10.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that the whole charge that he makes?

Mr. HEARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you get all of the pay directly from the farmer yourself?

Mr. HEARD. I do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. EWART, OF CRANBURY, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. James C. Ewart. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. EWART. I am James C. Ewart.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement that you intend to read from?

Mr. EWART. I submitted a statement to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. EWART. In Cranbury, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. EWART. A farmer.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity do you appear here? Whom do you represent?

Mr. EWART. I represent the New Jersey potato growers. I am chairman of the committee appointed by the New Jersey State Potato Growers Association, and I am also president of the State Board of Agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a permanent position?

Mr. EWART. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you private business or occupation besides that?

Mr. EWART. Both positions are nonpaying.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. EWART. A farmer, potato growing principally.

The CHAIRMAN. You run your own farm?

Mr. EWART. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you go ahead in your own way and make your statement, if you will, please; and then we will ask you questions that are pertinent to what you say.

Mr. EWART. Just what sort of information do you want?

The CHAIRMAN. You have filed a written statement here, have you not?

Mr. EWART. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish that you would present that to us.

Mr. EWART. Do you want me to read it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. EWART (reading). I am making this brief statement relative to the migratory labor situation in New Jersey as it relates to the commercial white potato area. At the present time, I hold the following official positions in this State: President of the State Board of Agriculture; State board member of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Agricultural Conservation Service; member of the board of managers of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, and chairman of the migratory labor committee of the New Jersey Potato Association; and was formerly president of the Middlesex County board of agriculture.

I have been owner-manager of a potato farm in Middlesex County, in the township of Cranbury, for more than 20 years, and during that time have had considerable experience in dealing with migratory labor.

I shall leave it to others to give the statistical figures relative to the Negro migratory labor situation, and shall confine my statements to the experience of myself and my neighbors in the handling of migratory labor on our farms. In no sense of the word can these potato harvesters be considered destitute people. They are skilled in their work, and after their work in New Jersey is completed, they go back to their homes in the States south of us.

NEGRO MIGRANTS ARE SATISFACTORY WORKERS

During the years that I have employed these workers, I have never found it necessary to discharge any of them. Practically the same men return to my farm to harvest the crop, year after year. I always make arrangements before the season begins, either by letter or a personal visit, with the same group each year. I have visited the homes of several of these Negroes during the years in which I have employed them. Similar arrangements are made by at least a third of the farmers in the potato area which lies within Monmouth, Middlesex, and Mercer Counties.

SOME FARMERS CONTRACT THEIR LABOR

It is my understanding that a small percentage of the farmers arrange for their labor through contractors, while another proportion, also small in percentage, depend upon laborers applying for work on arrival in the State each year. In many cases these laborers go to the same farms on which they worked in previous years.

The rates of pay for these laborers range from 20 cents to 40 cents an hour, and studies made indicate that they earn from $2.50 to $7 a day. Most of this labor originates in Virginia and Florida, with approximately 25 percent coming from the other Southern States that produce potatoes.

These Negroes are good workers, are experienced, and, living on the farms, are able to work during the early and later hours of the day. As stated above, excellent relationships exist between these Negroes and their employers, the same Negroes in many cases coming back year after year to the same farm.

The money received by the Negroes for their work is higher in New Jersey than the amount they receive for the same number of hours of work in the other potato-producing areas to the south of our State. The work is easier, and the Negro can earn more money than it is possible for him to earn in the potato areas south of us. They are provided with good shelter on most farms, and each year these conditions are improved. A few years of good crops and prices would correct housing conditions on most farms employing this type of labor.

The fact that the same groups come back each year to the same farms indicates that employers have been fair and that the workers are happy to continue in such employment.

The potato farmers of the area feel that it is absolutely necessary to have this labor for the harvesting of the potato crop. This type of labor must be utilized, because local labor is either not available or is unsatisfactory. Local labor on W. P. A. cannot, or will not, do the work. Arrangements to use W. P. A. labor have never worked out satisfactorily. The temporary nature of the potato harvesting work makes it difficult for them to be reinstated on W. P. A. once they are off.

Mr. PARSONS. How many acres do you own?

Mr. EWART. There are 125 acres in the home farm, and I own another farm with 120 acres; and I rent two more farms, one with 115 acres and the other with 40 acres.

Mr. PARSONS. So that you have, all told, around 360 acres.

Mr. EWART. We grow about 180 to 200 acres of potatoes a year.

Mr. PARSONS. What else do you grow besides potatoes?

Mr. EWART. Wheat and soybeans.

Mr. PARSONS. You do not grow any truck stuff, no vegetables?

Mr. EWART. Nothing, except the garden.

Mr. PARSONS. Do these people you employ start in Florida with the potato crop and come north with the season?

Mr. EWART. My particular help does not. The help from the Eastern Shore of Virginia works down there on the Eastern Shore until after the potato crop is gathered and work gets scarce there, and then they come up and help harvest the crop in Jersey.

Mr. PARSONS. Your crop is just coming in, is it, in Jersey?

Mr. EWART. Yes. Some of them are being dug now, not very many.

Mr. PARSONS. The next month, it will be a month before you get to the height of the harvesting.

Mr. EWART. The crop is generally for 2 months. Our harvest usually runs from the middle of July to the middle of September. Ninety percent of our potatoes are removed normally within that period of time.

Mr. PARSONS. You just grow the one crop of potatoes annually?

Mr. EWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. You don't grow both early and lates?

Mr. EWART. No.

Mr. PARSONS. But in the South they grow two crops.

Mr. EWART. Some of them do; yes. The second crop is not so much.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, while you are on that, do you dig them with potato forks or do you have a machine that plows them out?

Mr. EWART. They are all dug with a two-row tractor digger and an elevator digger, if you know what I mean. The share runs under the rows and elevates the potatoes on an endless chain. And then there are two rows that are put together in the bag, and they are all on top of the ground. You don't have to do any digging; it is just picking up the potatoes.

Mr. PARSONS. It is just to bend over and put them in the bag?

Mr. EWART. They get on their knees, usually.

Mr. PARSONS. I see.

Mr. EWART. The type of digger has a lot to do with that. If you know anything of the conditions—in Virginia, for example, they plant corn in every other potato row, and the potatoes are pulled out with a one-horse plow and they have to go along and scratch them out. The workers are provided, I think, with good shelter on most farms. Each year these conditions are improving.

The CHAIRMAN. How long does your potato season last?

Mr. Ewart. Generally speaking, about 2 months, from the middle of July to the middle of September, and there may be some variation in that in different years.

The Chairman. You pay them so much an hour or so much a sack?

Mr. Ewart. So much a sack. We hire a certain amount of them to do the grading, and start again in the field for so much an hour; and the others work by piece work.

DETAILS AS TO CONTRACT LABOR

The Chairman. I understand from your statement there that you said very frequently employers employ these migrant workers through contractors; is that right?

Mr. Ewart. There are a few contractors; yes.

The Chairman. Who are they? Who are these contractors?

Mr. Ewart. Well, in some cases they are colored men, and in other cases they are white men.

The Chairman. Do you know what they charge the migrant workers for their services?

Mr. Ewart. I do not know.

The Chairman. But you do not utilize that medium, do you?

Mr. Ewart. No. I do know that one of my neighbors—there is a family down there of about 4 boys growing 600 acres of potatoes—and they have 1 man from Jacksonville, Fla., who brings them up about 100 workers, and they are employed around on these different farms, and now they work under contract. But personally I cannot see anything greatly wrong with that, because these potato pickers intermingle and everyone knows what the other fellow is getting for his work, and how much they are picking, and how much they are making, and so on; and if there is any great variation that contractor has absolutely no hold on those fellows and they would simply leave him and go to some other farm.

Mr. Parsons. Does he pay them so much of their wages in order to qualify with him under this contract or does he take a commission out of their wages?

Mr. Ewart. It depends on how the thing is worked out. If he does the entire job, he probably gets a commission, but the way it is mostly done, he contracts with the farmer for so much, to pick and grade possibly, or the work out in the field, and then he hires his workers at so much per 100 and his laborers at so much an hour.

Mr. Parsons. Now, does the owner pay the men who get the labor or does he take the commission out of what the laborers earn?

Mr. Ewart. Well, I do not know that it is run on a commission basis. This fellow just hires his labor, you see, for so much a hundred, to pick his potatoes, and he contracts for the harvest and he pays him so much an hour for the work he does around the graders.

Mr. Parsons. For instance, if I am a contractor, I will contract with you to pick these potatoes and grade them at, say, 30 cents a bag.

Mr. Ewart. He would not do that.

Mr. Parsons. Or 25 cents.

Mr. Ewart. He might afford 7 or 8 cents, but he would not afford 30 cents.

Mr. Parsons. I am talking about picking them and grading them and getting them ready for market.

Mr. Ewart. That is what I am talking about. You might get 7 or 8 cents.

Mr. Parsons. You would furnish the sacks, of course.

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. All right. Say it is 8 cents. When I go down South and pick up my pickers, and I will say I will pay those boys 5 cents so that I get 3 cents a bag commission for doing it, is that the way that this contractor engages his labor?

Mr. Ewart. That is the idea. I do not think it would work out that way in practice, but that is the idea.

The Chairman. Mr. Ewart, do you have any oversupply of migrant workers wanting to work for you?

Mr. Ewart. No.

The Chairman. You never do?

Mr. Ewart. No.

The Chairman. Who are these people? Are they families of Negroes or individuals?

Mr. Ewart. Some of them are. The man in Florida generally gathers up my gang—he is a man past 60 years old, and apparently has a lot of nephews and nieces and cousins, and so on, and it seems that the greater part of them are related.

The Chairman. What do you pay him for his services?

Mr. Ewart. I do not pay him at all.

The Chairman. Does he charge them?

Mr. Ewart. He charges them a very small fee. They know exactly what it is, and, in fact, I pay them and he does not have education enough to figure out just what each man has coming to him, and he turns in their picking account to me and I pay them.

The Chairman. Do you pay the money to him or to the pickers?

Mr. Ewart. I pay it to the pickers.

The Chairman. And then they pay him?

Mr. Ewart. No. He has a little left over for himself.

The Chairman. Where does he get that little left over?

Mr. Ewart. The difference in what he pays the picker and what I pay him. He does not pay the picker personally. I pay the picker because he is not good at figuring, and he can count how many sacks, but he cannot figure it up.

The Chairman. Is he a Negro?

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How much do you pay him for a season's run of a couple of months?

Mr. Ewart. Oh, he picks potatoes part of the time, and I would say that he would probably average $20, possibly $25 a week.

Mr. Parsons. Depending on the price of potatoes?

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You pay better prices when potatoes are high, and lower prices when potatoes are low?

Mr. Ewart. We have to.

The Chairman. Before the season starts, do you indicate to him about how many pickers you need?

Mr. Ewart. Yes, sir. Always. And that is done in many cases because we do not want a lot of help around that we do not need. The excess of laborers are usually people who come in there in old automobiles without any prospect for a job, and just go hunting around for a job, and 90 percent of the farmers tell the people how many people they want.

The CHAIRMAN. When do you balance your account with this fellow in Florida who supplies the pickers; when do you do that? Do you pay him money directly or do the pickers pay him?

Mr. EWART. I do not know just how that fellow from Florida—I do not know just how that arrangement is worked out, exactly. I know that the same pickers have been coming; this crowd has been coming—this family has been coming for the last 8 or 9 years, and a lot of the same pickers come back, year after year.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you pay him any money directly as a commission, or any compensation for his services?

Mr. EWART. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You just tell him how many sacks have been gathered by the pickers?

Mr. EWART. I take whatever account he turns over to me, and I give him the balance, and he has to hire some help to load potatoes on the truck from the field, and do other jobs, and just how much labor he puts into that or how much he pays them, I do not know. All I pay is the pickers, and pay him the balance. The way the wages are computed is on the basis of the amount of potatoes sold from the barn. That is the way I settle with him.

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot get clear in my mind how much, or you do not pay anything directly to the pickers; do you?

Mr. EWART. I do pay directly to the pickers for him.

The CHAIRMAN. That is done for him?

Mr. EWART. That is for the contractor, if you want to call him that.

The CHAIRMAN. And how much do you pay him? How much a sack.

Mr. EWART. I paid him 6 cents last year.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid him?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And how much did he pay the pickers?

Mr. EWART. They were paid on the basis of 5 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. So he made a cent a sack, then?

Mr. EWART. Yes; but out of that cent a sack he had to load those potatoes on the truck and do some work around the barn; he had to hire men to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. This 5 cents a sack—do you pay that directly to the pickers or to the contractor?

Mr. EWART. The pickers.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you left them to settle with the contractor; is that the idea?

Mr. EWART. The contractor turns in the pickers' accounts to me and I pay them, and then the difference he gets, and the men he hires by the day he pays; I have nothing to do with that.

Mr. OSMERS. I would like to ask a question on that point. When you set the price, as you say you set the price of 6 cents as the price last year, you set that price with a contractor, not with the individual pickers; is that correct?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is the head man?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And he comes to you and he says the picker No. 1 has picked 20 sacks, and he wants him to be paid 5 cents, and then you would pay him a dollar under such a circumstance?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And the difference between what you have paid out to the pickers you give him?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is, on your original contract?

Mr. EWART. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. And you say that last year, for example, he received 1 cent as compared to their 5 cents, and had certain duties to perform in connection with loading the potatoes on the trucks?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, I think that the point the committee has been trying to get at here, has been the net income of the pickers. In other words, do the pickers then have to give the contractor money for transportation, for food, or do they all handle that individually?

WORKERS PAY OWN TRANSPORTATION

Mr. EWART. They all pay their own transportation.

Mr. OSMERS. To him, is it his transportation?

Mr. EWART. Well, it is done through me; rather, I always pay the transportation when they come up, and it is subtracted when they make it.

Mr. OSMERS. How do you provide their transportation? Is that by truck or private car?

Mr. EWART. They hire a truck down there to bring them up, and it generally costs them about $2 apiece.

Mr. OSMERS. From the Eastern Shore?

Mr. EWART. From Cape Charles; and I pay the truck driver when he comes here.

Mr. OSMERS. When he arrives with 20 pickers, he gets $40 or something like that?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And, in the course of the season, how often do you pay the pickers; every week?

Mr. EWART. Every week.

Mr. OSMERS. And I suppose that you gradually take off the transportation cost?

Mr. EWART. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you pay their transportation back to Cape Charles?

Mr. EWART. No.

Mr. OSMERS. You do not?

Mr. EWART. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that their own concern?

Mr. EWART. They really pay their own transportation up and back, but I pay it when they come up there.

Mr. OSMERS. You just advance it?

Mr. EWART. I just advance it.

Mr. OSMERS. How about the food that they eat? We visited a potato farm Saturday, outside of Freehold I believe it was, and these people had been there for over 2 weeks without digging any potatoes—I suppose because of the lateness of the season—and, during that waiting period, how did they eat?

Mr. Ewart. Well, the farmer will always advance them some money to live on; we frequently have to do that.

Mr. Osmers. That is, for food, and so on?

Mr. Ewart. Yes; they always have all of the potatoes they want to eat, and there are a lot of other vegetables—cabbages, and things like that—that happen to be grown on the farm. And I happen to know the owner of that farm that you were at, and he talked to me about 3 or 4 days before you came down, and he said that they were coming in and he had written to them that he would not have any work for them for a couple of weeks, but they were through with their job down in Virginia, and they are from Florida, and they wanted to come up there and stay until the work opened up. They were finished at the place they were working at in Virginia and had no place to go.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Mr. Osmers. Well, there is considerable question in my own mind, and I presume that there is in the minds of the other members of the committee, as to the housing conditions; you mentioned in your statement that they were getting better. But are you in a position, as head of the potato growers in New Jersey, to give this committee any idea when those housing conditions will be in what might be called standard condition?

Mr. Ewart. Well, that would depend on how you define "standard condition."

Mr. Osmers. Well, I would leave that to the committee.

Mr. Ewart. I would say that I have been through their homes in Florida, and through their homes on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and 90 percent of the living conditions on the farms of New Jersey are better from many standpoints than they are at their own homes.

Mr. Osmers. Well, on a comparative basis, I am willing to agree that that is so; but, on the other hand, as a resident of New Jersey myself, I feel that our State—and I know that you feel that same way—that our State should provide adequate standard living conditions for these people, regardless of what their living conditions are anywhere else; that we, at least, should have sanitary and healthy living conditions.

Mr. Ewart. As far as sanitary conditions are concerned, I think they are very good, judging from the fact that there has never been any serious outbreak of sickness among them.

At the present time the welfare organization of Middlesex County has a colored doctor down there, and a registered nurse to look after their health, and last year the farmers all cooperated with the State board of health in giving them all a Wasserman test, and treating them when they reacted. And we also had a colored minister down there to have religious services for them. And a social worker from New York, who came through with the Home Mission Association of New York.

Mr. Osmers. Could you just give us briefly, from your own personal experience, the attitude of the State department of health and the State department of labor in connection with the conditions of these growers on the farms?

Mr. Ewart. This survey, that I think you have a record of, was made.

Mr. Osmers. That is the Conference Report on Migratory Workers?

Mr. Ewart. That was made with the State department of labor, the State employment bureau, and the State department of agriculture. We have always cooperated with those people in anything that they wanted to do.

Mr. Osmers. I was not thinking so much of cooperation in the making of the report as I was in the change of the conditions.

WHY OUT-OF-STATE MIGRANT WORKERS ARE USED

Mr. Ewart. As a result of this survey, the State employment office decided that there was nothing they could do to change conditions, that the help they had available would not fill the bill for the farmers.

Mr. Osmers. You mean the help that they had available in New Jersey?

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. Because the State employment service told us yesterday that they had arranged for a group of these workers to be brought in from Virginia, and it worked out very satisfactorily; they were given cards when they left and were properly received. In other words, if a farmer, a man like yourself, applied to the State employment service and said he needed 25 pickers at a certain time, the New Jersey State Employment Service contacted the Virginia State Employment Service, and arrangements were made that were very satisfactory all the way through.

Is it your opinion that we will always need a certain number of migrant workers in New Jersey for the harvesting of the potato crop?

THINKS W. P. A. LABOR UNSATISFACTORY

Mr. Ewart. With conditions as they are; yes. Since relief has come along, people who were used to picking potatoes before 1929 were the people who got on relief. And, as I said in the statement that I made, they do not want to quit W. P. A. jobs for a short period of time to pick potatoes.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that if the relief policy were changed so that it would be easy for a relief recipient to get back on the rolls, we could use more local labor in the harvesting of potatoes in New Jersey?

Mr. Ewart. I suppose that you would like to have an honest answer to that.

Mr. Osmers. Well, that is a reasonable assumption.

Mr. Ewart. I think the average W. P. A. worker today is so thoroughly spoiled that he would not be much good digging potatoes, to say the least.

Mr. Osmers. You feel the work is too hard?

Mr. Ewart. He is not used to it. He does not work hard enough, on the average. Many of them would not be in the physical condition to get out in the fields and pick 100 bags of potatoes a day.

The Chairman. How long does the potato season last?

Mr. Ewart. Generally about 90 percent of them will be dug in 2 months.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you expect those people to do the other 10 months?

Mr. EWART. To go back to Florida; to go back to Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about relief now.

Mr. EWART. With the W. P. A. workers, that is one of the great difficulties.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would not undertake, would you, as a farmer yourself, to take care of them for the other 10 months?

Mr. EWART. No; certainly not. The shortness of time that we need these people makes the difficulty.

Mr. PARSONS. The last W. P. A. bill attacked by Congress provided that an individual who quit W. P. A. and accepts private employment has priority status to be reinstated with W. P. A. when the private employment is over. So if you offered this labor to W. P. A. workers in your community, they could work for you 2 weeks, and then be automatically transferred from there back to W. P. A. without a great deal of loss of time.

Mr. EWART. We do not employ southern labor altogether. There is always some local labor, and for the last several years I have had five or six local people who have picked potatoes for me.

Mr. PARSONS. That is white people?

Mr. EWART. Some white and some colored.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you ever tried out the young man of high-school age, 18 to 20 years of age?

Mr. EWART. We have some of them who work for us.

Mr. PARSONS. You have a lot of those kinds of youngsters in the small towns in the surrounding community, do you not? And even in the countryside.

Mr. EWART. Not in a town like Cranbury; no, they would have to come from New Brunswick or Trenton or some other larger place, because most of the boys of high-school age are farmers' sons and they are employed at home.

Mr. PARSONS. But you have never tried to get these boys of high-school age, around 18 or 20, out on the farms, to do this potato picking, because they are young and inexperienced, I suppose.

Mr. EWART. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of housing facilities do you have for those workers?

Mr. EWART. Well, we have a building that was formerly used as a stable, that has concrete floor in it. It is perfectly dry, and has plenty of ventilation. It is screened in, and most of the men sleep in there, and they each have a bunk in there. And then the women sleep in another building.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a building is it that the women sleep in?

Mr. EWART. Well, the room the women sleep in is as long as this room, and about half as wide, with a partition in the middle. And that, again, is a one-story building with a concrete floor in it.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that used for?

Mr. EWART. Well, we use it to cut potatoes in in the spring of the year. You see, farming conditions have changed. The farm that I occupy used to be a dairy farm, and now that we do not have a horse, nor a cow, nor pigs, nor chickens on the farm it is specialized farming, and a lot of buildings that we used to use for different purposes we do not have much use for today. We fix them up for housing quarters.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you get your labor before the hard road systems were put in so that you could import these people from the South economically?

Mr. EWART. Well, they would come from surrounding towns. through the 1920's most of the labor would come from New Brunswick, South River, or Jamesburg, and there was some labor around there from Philadelphia—Italian labor, Italian families.

Mr. PARSONS. But since 1928 or 1929 you have been obtaining your labor from the South?

Mr. EWART. More and more the labor has been coming from the South.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Ewart, in your opinion, is it necessary that some of that labor come in, in order to take care of the highly seasonal jobs that you have?

Mr. EWART. It is absolutely necessary; it is a natural fact that we employ over 4,000 of them in the 3 central Jersey counties, and I don't know where in the world we would get those people that would come out and do that type of work if we could not have these colored people.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You do not have the labor supply available locally?

Mr. EWART. We do not; no.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And, as I gather from your statement, these people come in, and when the harvest season is over they return to their homes?

Mr. EWART. They do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They do not become a permanent problem with you people in the sense that they settle there?

Mr. EWART. I think, generally speaking, the colored laborer that becomes a problem is the fellow that comes up there without a job; 90 percent of these people, both from Virginia and Florida, come up there knowing just exactly what they are doing, and what they are going to do after they get there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And they are pretty much the same people who come year after year?

Mr. EWART. The same people.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, Mr. Osmers mentioned something a few minutes ago to the effect that the Employment Service has been rendering experimental service in obtaining this labor for farmers. Have you thought anything about trying to work out some kind of a plan whereby the Employment Service might contact the Employment Service in some other State and through this arrangement in an orderly way to bring in the labor?

Mr. EWART. Certainly I do not think that that would be very satisfactory. Now, I have had this bunch from Virginia working for me for 10 years, and they are perfectly satisfactory with me, and they are satisfied with the job, and they are good workers. They are honest, and I have never had a State policeman on the place and never had one of them arrested. Never had a bit of trouble with any of them; they are good workers, and I am satisfied with them, if they want the job. Now, why should I change?

Mr. Sparkman. Do you ever have any difficulty in getting a sufficient number?

Mr. Ewart. No.

Mr. Sparkman. Well, do you ever incur any difficulty in having a surplus number come in?

Mr. Ewart. No; because they will bring just exactly the number. This man will bring just exactly the number I tell him, and no more.

Mr. Sparkman. In other words, you anticipate the demand and notify him?

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. And now I am thinking about the fellow who comes without a prearranged agreement, the fellow who might just drift in; do you have many of those each year applying for work independently?

Mr. Ewart. We always have some, not a great many. I would not wonder—probably 10 or 12 percent are drifters.

Mr. Sparkman. As I understand it, the cultivation of the potatoes, the planting and cultivation, is done by your permanent force.

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. And that is done by you and your children and any regular workers that you use?

Mr. Ewart. We employ about five men steadily.

Mr. Sparkman. And do those same men plow the potatoes up, that is, turn them, lift them up, ready for the pickers?

Mr. Ewart. We do all of that.

Mr. Sparkman. That is what I say; that is your permanent force?

Mr. Ewart. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. And it is this temporary force that does the picking and sacking and hauling to the barn; and do they grade them?

Mr. Ewart. Yes; they load them on the trucks and they help with the grader, and our men drive the trucks and also help with the grader. And they have certain jobs at the grader that they have to do, and there is a certain job that my men do.

Mr. Sparkman. That is what I am trying to find out, and now, just what are the jobs that these migrants do? They pick the potatoes and haul them and help grade them, and now, that is all that they do?

Mr. Ewart. Sometimes they might load them on the trucks that take them to the city, or wherever they go; that may be part of the arrangement. These arrangements vary somewhat; some people just pay them so much for picking, and others will have them do practically the whole job—picking, grading, and loading on the trucks.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, you find it more convenient to contract with the one individual to do the whole job. I suppose the pickers constitute the greater portion of the workers; is that true?

Mr. Ewart. That is true; yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. And therefore the amount of money that you actually pay directly to the workers is a great majority of the pay, the great part of the pay, that is actually transmitted to the men?

Mr. Ewart. That is right.

Mr. Sparkman. And you simply find it more convenient to contract the men?

Mr. Ewart. I do, because where you have that one man, he is more or less responsible for the conduct of that whole crowd, and he keeps them straight. In other words, there has never been a fight on the place, and never any trouble of any kind.

Mr. Sparkman. You have never heard any dissatisfaction expressed by any of the workers?

Mr. Ewart. No; in fact, they are all very anxious to come back again. When I contacted them this year, I was down to their homes, and I asked this man if he was going to have any trouble getting a lot of help and he said, "Lord no! I can get you a hundred if you want them."

Mr. Sparkman. That is all.

Mr. Osmers. Just one or two more questions. How steady is the employment once you start to pick your potatoes? Do they work right through?

Mr. Ewart. That depends on market and weather conditions. Certain seasons will be fairly steady. If you get a heavy storm the ground gets wet, and you cannot dig for a couple of days, at times.

Mr. Osmers. Now, when there is picking to be done and you want potatoes picked, how many hours do these pickers spend in the field per day?

Mr. Ewart. Well, again, that varies with the weather condition.

Mr. Osmers. Well, take the straight summer weather.

Mr. Ewart. Generally speaking, they will work anywhere from 8 to 10 hours.

Mr. Osmers. That is, 8 to 10 hours a day?

Mr. Ewart. Yes; morning and night, mostly. Sometimes, on a day when it is cloudy, they will work all day.

Mr. Osmers. But they cannot work in the extremely hot sun?

Mr. Ewart. They cannot work then. In that kind of weather you would not dare to have potatoes out from 9 o'clock to 5; they must be picked up and carted away.

Mr. Sparkman. That is the good care that makes New Jersey potatoes so good, isn't it?

Mr. Ewart. I hope so.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Mr. Ewart.

TESTIMONY OF MISS RUTH TAYLOR, COMMISSIONER OF WELFARE OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

The Chairman. Miss Taylor, will you come around, please? What is your full name, please?

Miss Taylor. Ruth Taylor, the commissioner of welfare of Westchester County, N. Y.

The Chairman. And have you a statement that you want to present, or do you want to talk right away?

Miss Taylor. I present a very brief statement to the committee. I can quote somewhat from that, if you wish.

STATEMENT OF MISS RUTH TAYLOR, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

Since July 1, 1937, when the State of New York assumed responsibility for the costs of all relief given to persons proved to have no settlement within the State, the problem of the nonresident has been primarily a State problem.

However, the administration of relief for this type of case is a local responsibility and our taxpayers tend to think of it in terms of additions to their own relief budgets. Even though the State reimburses the localities 100 percent for all cases where there is documentary proof that a family has no settlement within the State, the relief needed is given in the first instance by the locality and later reimbursed by the State; this creates in the minds of local taxpayers the impression that they are paying directly and heavily for nonresident dependent families.

Under the New York State law, the county public welfare district is responsible for all forms of relief for persons within the district not residing in their place of local settlement or without settlement in the district. In Westchester County, therefore, the county department of public welfare is the index of the number of and amount of relief given to proved nonresident or State cases. The relief given by the 22 local public welfare units—the 4 cities and the 18 towns—is wholly relief to persons having a settlement in those cities and towns.

It is the county department's impression that the problem of the nonresident in Westchester is not that of the habitual or seasonal migrant but rather that of the individual family unit, whether one person or several, which comes into the county unit by unit with some idea, either clearly defined or vague, of getting work or otherwise meeting some unsolved family problem. It is our impression that by far the larger number of our nonresident relief families have come with the idea that work is more plentiful in this metropolitan area, and that they will somehow "get along better" here. A few have come because of some lack in their own community which they believe can be met here, for instance, a sick child in the family, no hospitals available, and the belief that hospitals exist and are accessible in and around New York. We have little direct evidence that families move into our territory with a definite idea of getting relief here.

Because of the fact that we have no habitual or seasonal migrants, we believe that no blanket generalization as to our nonresident case problem can be made at this time.

The problem has, of course, been accentuated during these depression years and, while public welfare officers have always been aware of the problem, the public has turned its attention to it during this period of high relief expenditures. The extent of the problem in Westchester, which is often grossly exaggerated, may be indicated by studying the number of dependents from outside the State on the home relief rolls as of given dates. Experience has shown that this is a fair indication of the percentage that may be found if all of the other categories of relief and care are studied.

	Dec. 31, 1939		June 30, 1940	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Home-relief cases (entire county of Westchester, all units)	10, 492	100. 00	8. 680	100. 00
State-charge cases (settlement not in New York State)	289	2. 75	279	3. 21
Additional State presumptive cases	69	. 66	69	. 79
State-charge and State-presumptive cases	358	3. 41	348	4. 00
State cases acknowledged by other States	59	. 56	41	. 47

The fear of the community of an increasing burden of nonresidents on relief has led to a growing resentment at them. Some of the school systems have become disturbed over the possibility of an influx of less well prepared children from other school systems. Efforts have been made to secure restrictive legislation to hinder the movement of migrants and nonresidents, and to find ways of prohibiting relief to them; the lowering of standards of relief, including medical and hospital care, over the entire area in order to discourage the migration of nonresidents into the area has been suggested.

The local public welfare official is caught between his absolute duty under the New York State public-welfare law to prevent want and suffering in his area, regardless of settlement questions, while at the same time keeping the taxpayers of his locality from lowering relief standards for the entire group of relief recipients, both local charges and nonresident, in the hope of discouraging the latter.

In our opinion the problem of the nonresident dependent can be handled justly and fairly only through Federal action. No State or locality will be willing or financially able for long to maintain adequate standards of relief, including medical and hospital care, for its residents if those standards may be availed of at will by destitute persons from other territories merely by moving within its boundaries. It is not reasonable to expect this of any community and it is certainly not a practical possibility. On the other hand, we do not want restrictive legislation to prevent free men and women from seeking honest employment in those parts of the country where it may be found or in changing their place of abode for good and satisfactory reasons. Until such time as we have worked out our national economic system in a way that would seem to provide adequate opportunity for earning a living in all parts of the country, it would seem that the Federal Government must provide leadership in the field of the transient and migrant wherever he is found and also assume financial responsibility for his care. The Federal Government alone can bring together various States in a movement for uniform settlement laws and for such other steps as may be possible in equalizing and adjusting fairly the financial burden.

TESTIMONY OF RUTH TAYLOR—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Please proceed with your testimony in any way you desire.

Miss TAYLOR. I think a good deal of what I might say has already been included in Commissioner Adie's statement. It has been made clear to your committee that the program in New York State is a State program. The State reimburses 100 percent for the cost of all persons when it is proven that they are nonsettled in the State. It has also been explained—and I would like to reinforce that statement of Commissioner Adie's—that localities in the State which have the responsibility for administration give relief to the nonsettled person on the same terms as to the person that has a local settlement.

In other words, the New York State law definitely requires of the public welfare officer that he give relief to persons within his territory who are found to be in need, and any question of settlement is a matter for later consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you cannot let them starve.

Miss TAYLOR. We do not let them starve. We give medical care and hospital care on the same terms to all.

NEW YORK'S PROBLEM IN "NONSETTLED PERSONS"

Now, what has happened in the State is that a practical problem has developed with that provision in the law whereby all are treated alike. New York State is acquiring a group of nonsettled people who are being supported at the State's expense, but the care is being given through the localities, and this is creating a problem for the State. Commissioner Adie spoke of the increase in the expenditure.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as I understand it, the State of New York has spent in the last year about $3,000,000 in taking care of destitute interstate migrants.

Miss TAYLOR. That is what I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. And what you are puzzled about is how long you can go on that way.

Miss TAYLOR. How long the taxpayers in the individual localities will be willing to permit their relief standards to remain high, and how long they will grant a high type of medical care and hospital care, as well as family relief, if they must share that with any person who moves into the State.

Now, it is for that reason, it is because of the practical problem, not because we feel—I am speaking now simply for myself—that the problem is yet, by any means, an enormous one, in any locality. Nevertheless, it is because of this threat to fair and equitable and humane relief standards, if it is left wholly to the locality to deal with, that I personally believe very strongly that this is a problem in which the Federal Government must give us leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. The problem is increasing; the case load is increasing in your State?

Miss TAYLOR. I am speaking now for my county, I mean as the county commissioner. Commissioner Adie spoke for the State, and, I believe, if I understood him rightly, he said that there was a very marked increase.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about your county.

Miss TAYLOR. It has increased somewhat proportionately with the State's, until the last 6 months, and the figures that I have which I presented to your committee, for the last 6 months would seem to indicate that our State charges at the moment have decreased very slightly in number and not quite in proportion to our general relief decline; but certainly they are not increasing, they are not going up at the moment.

ADVOCATES UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

But the problem seems to be this, that unless we have Federal leadership in working for, for instance, what I personally believe we must have, a uniform settlement law among the States, the tendency is going to be toward barrier after barrier, getting higher. New York State this year had a bill introduced for a 5-year-residence provision.

Many of us in the practical field, I think, very much prefer to stay with the 1-year settlement. I should have said the settlement law, with the 1-year-settlement law. But if the States begin to raise those settlement requirements, then it seems almost inevitable that in time the States will all follow, and we will have a pyramiding series of higher and higher settlement provisions.

But what we would like is Federal leadership in securing or bringing the States together to secure a uniform law, uniform legislation of residence for settlement, uniform provisions in the law, and we would like Federal participation in the caring for the nonsettled people in order that our localities will keep up high standards of relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the county feels that tax burden on account of these people.

Miss TAYLOR. Actually, of course, the county directly is not paying the relief for the cases, but the county does pay it in the first instance, and it therefore does appear in the initial appropriations, and taxpayers generally feel toward it as a local expense. At least, certainly a considerable part do.

Now, they do pay, of course, the administrative costs, which, in my opinion, is fair and equitable; I would not necessarily feel that that was a charge to the State. I am speaking, of course, as an individual.

But there is, in my opinion, growing hostility, in many localities in the State, toward this nonsettled problem.

Mr. PARSONS. Does the county of Westchester levy a tax for relief purposes?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you recall what that rate is?

TAX RATES

Miss TAYLOR. Well, it was a part of the general county tax; I can give you the county tax rate, if I may refer to my notes a minute. The county tax rate for 1940 is $4.95.

Mr. PARSONS. That is $4.95 on the thousand?

Miss TAYLOR. That is the county; the tax situation, on which I am no expert whatever, is a very intricate problem.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that upon the full cash value of the assessment?

Miss TAYLOR. I really cannot discuss that tax question with you. It is a very intricate situation. We have tax districts for a number of different things in the county.

Mr. PARSONS. That is 49.5 cents per $100; someone in the audience nodded his head that apparently knows that it is on the full cash value. And now, when we mention full cash value, I assume that that is probably 50 percent of the actual merchantable value of the property; is not that true?

Miss TAYLOR. That I am not equipped to answer.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, that is for all county purposes.

Miss TAYLOR. That is for all county purposes.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, what part of that 49.5 cents is for relief purposes?

Miss TAYLOR. In the county budget, about 34 cents on the dollar this year is for relief purposes.

Mr. PARSONS. That is 34 cents out of the $4.95, or 34 cents out of the 49.5 cents?

Miss TAYLOR. That is 34 cents out of the tax dollar.

Mr. PARSONS. That would be approximately one-third.

Miss TAYLOR. Of course, you have in that only the relief that is carried by the county departments, and not the cities and towns; the 18 towns and 4 cities carry their own local home relief.

Mr. PARSONS. The city contributes in addition to that?

Miss TAYLOR. The cities pay directly for their home relief.

Mr. PARSONS. So that would be about 16⅔ cents on the $100 cash value assessment for relief purposes. I want to get the comparison with my own State, and also get some idea of the contribution that the county makes to that purpose.

Now, your State augments that, and reimburses you for what part of the expenditure that is made in your county?

Miss TAYLOR. Well, it reimburses different amounts on the different classifications of relief. The figure that you have there is not, you see, for that part of it, the whole nonsettled question is merged in that. If you want to deal with the question of nonsettled cases, the State pays 100 percent on the relief given.

Mr. PARSONS. After you have furnished the records to them?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes; and after we have documented them, and prove that the person has definitely settled somewhere else.

Mr. PARSONS. But the State does not give you anything for your own?

Miss **Taylor**. Not for the administration. That is, not for the administering costs of the nonsettled persons.

Mr. **Parsons**. And the State does not contribute any to your own settled people?

Miss **Taylor**. Yes; it does; according to the New York State law, 40 percent.

Mr. **Parsons**. That is for all of them?

Miss **Taylor**. Forty percent for home relief; yes. And it does not participate in hospitalization, except for the so-called State charges. There again it pays 100 percent.

Mr. **Parsons**. That is all.

Mr. **Curtis**. I have just one question:

Has the adoption of this plan in New York, the State paying 100 percent, and the acceptance of the proposition of carrying these people even though they cannot establish settlement here, has that increased the number of people coming in?

Miss **Taylor**. I do not think that I am in a position to state anything more than an opinion there. I doubt whether the development of the State plan has seriously influenced the numbers. We cannot compare the situation because the former definition of "State case" was merely the person who had been in the State only 60 days, so that there is nothing comparable in the two pictures.

Moreover, the whole relief situation has been so much dependent upon the economic situation that, personally, I think a great deal of this problem of the nonsettled person would have occurred regardless of what system we had.

UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. **Curtis**. Now, one other question. I think we are all agreed that the settlement laws should be uniform. Would you go so far as some of the witnesses have and advocate the abolition of all settlement requirements?

Miss **Taylor**. Well, personally, I have never heard any scheme advanced in detail which seemed to me practical and workable. Now, that may be just my own thought. I may not have run across anything.

Mr. **Curtis**. You are inclined to the view that we should have some?

Miss **Taylor**. Until someone can show me how no-settlement laws would operate practically, I am decidedly for a settlement law; but I think that we need very badly, if we are to give humane care to people that we want to have it, and have freedom of action, we must work toward a uniform law and uniform treatment under the various laws. I think that to have one State have a 4-year residence for a settlement and the next State to have a 6-year settlement, and no means of reciprocity at all, is not a practical working scheme. It will result in the people of an area, just like New York; the area with the short period, necessary for settlement, will try to raise it.

Mr. **Parsons**. We have had that same situation in Chicago. That is why we have had so many people drift in there from the surrounding States. In a relief organization like yours in New York City and the environs, you give a very much higher rate of contribution than they do in the other States, and the surrounding counties, and it is an incentive to drift into those areas like Chicago—just as it has been an incentive to drift into New York, in a great many cases. That is, not so many lately, but in the beginning of the depression. And then we probably had thousands of people that were profitably employed during the 1920's that stayed, and they came from other States for industrial purposes. And many of them, thousands of them, perhaps, in white-collar positions, and they stayed on, of course, after the crash of 1929.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. That is a very valuable contribution.

TESTIMONY OF ELLIOT PHILIP ROBBINS, A SEAMAN

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Robbins, what is your name?

Mr. ROBBINS. My first name is Elliott, my middle name is Philip, and my last name is Robbins.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were born in the United States?

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where?

Mr. ROBBINS. The city of Mobile, State of Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, we are from the same State, although several hundred miles apart.

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When were you born?

Mr. ROBBINS. I was born in the year of 1906, the 14th of August.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your parents were American citizens?

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes, sir; my parents were American citizens.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your ancestral descent?

Mr. ROBBINS. Well, as far as I can remember, my ancestral descent is that my grandfather migrated from the State of Michigan to Mississippi, and that is on my father's side. My grandfather on my mother's side migrated from Virginia, and fought in the Civil War.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He fought in the Civil War?

Mr. ROBBINS. Yes; he fought in the Civil War.

Mr. SPARKMAN. On which side?

Mr. ROBBINS. On the Confederate side.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your education?

Mr. ROBBINS. My education is the seventh grade.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why did you leave school?

Mr. ROBBINS. I left school because my aunt and uncle, who raised me, could no longer keep me in school. They could not afford it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you go then?

Mr. ROBBINS. I stayed home for a while.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you working at anything?

Mr. ROBBINS. I did not work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old were you, did you say?

Mr. ROBBINS. I was 16.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Would you just give us something about your work history?

Mr. ROBBINS. My history from that time up to the present date—well, that is quite a little story; if you want it, I will give it to you.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just give us the high points.

Mr. Robbins. Well, about 2 or 3 months after staying at home, I obtained work with a man by the name of Mr. Nichols, in an automobile paint shop, and I worked for this man about 6 months, at $6 a week, and he went out of business and my job was finished.

Then I stayed at home for a while and I could not get anything to do and so I decided to leave home. I could not stay there without working, because my parents were in poverty and they did not have very much, and I did not want to be a burden on them. I left home and went West, and I ended up at Houston, Tex.; and ending up in Houston, Tex., I decided to take a ship, my first ship, and I went on a ship by the name of *West Segovia.*

Mr. Sparkman. How old were you then?

Mr. Robbins. Well, I was 17, then, when I shipped on this vessel; and she operated for a company by the name of Daniel Ripley out of Houston, Tex., and the ports we touched were Le Havre, France; Rotterdam, Holland; and Antwerp, Belgium. I made two trips on this ship, and I got off her on account of sickness, because I could no longer perform my duties right on her.

After this ship I went North to the city named Fond du Lac, Wis., by the way of Chicago, and I took a job on a farm and stayed there for a while, and then came back South again. I shipped again, and the next ship was the *Hastings*, and I operated out of Mobile to European ports in France, Belgium, and Holland.

Then I came back to Pensacola, Fla.—I think it was—on the ship I was on first, and they laid up, and I asked the first engineer of this ship whether it would be possible, if I stayed around Pensacola, to ship back on her and he said that he could not promise me a job, and I said I thought the best thing to do was to go back over to Mobile, and so I did. Then I shipped on another vessel.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, Mr. Robbins, may I—instead of taking up each ship individually—let me ask you this question: Have you followed the sea, so far as you could get jobs, since that time?

Mr. Robbins. Well, since that time, no; I have not followed the sea steadily. It was off and on.

Mr. Sparkman. That was because you could not find steady employment?

Mr. Robbins. It was because I could not find steady employment on the ships that I did not follow the sea steadily at that time.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, have you done anything else in-between times?

Mr. Robbins. I have done other work in-between times. For instance, I have worked on a western wheat farm four seasons for a man by the name of Mr. Fearn, in Montana.

Mr. Sparkman. You would go out there every year when the wheat season came in?

Mr. Robbins. Yes; and harvest wheat, and then I would come back home again.

Mr. Sparkman. We all used to be migrants that way down our way, did we not?

Mr. Robbins. That is right.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, are you working now?

Mr. Robbins. Yes, sir. I am working now.

Mr. Sparkman. What are you doing?

Mr. Robbins. I am on the steamship *America* as fireman.

Mr. Sparkman. Is that the big boat that just came in the other day?

Mr. Robbins. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Our colleague, Mr. Parsons, was on the *America*, and he ought to be in here to listen to you.

Mr. Robbins. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. You do have employment now?

Mr. Robbins. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. What is your classification?

Mr. Robbins. My classification—you mean the job that I hold down below—is fireman. That is my rating.

Mr. Sparkman. That is what I mean. You started out as what?

Mr. Robbins. I started out as wiper, and I became a fireman, but there are some points that I would like to touch on further that are very important.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you have any ideas about how this problem that applies to seamen could be handled?

Mr. Robbins. That is what I would like to touch on.

Mr. Sparkman. We will be glad to have your views on it.

Mr. Robbins. At different times that I was unemployed it was no fault of my own, because it was, first, the ship tying up, and, No. 2, sickness, and, No. 3, I wanted to get off the ship for a normal life ashore, because being cooped up on that ship from 2 to 3, to 5, to 6 months, not intermingling with the public, not even visiting friends ashore or visiting the movies, or enjoying life like the other workers do ashore, that is one of the reasons why I got off the ships; those are the three reasons why it has been very hard for me when I get off the ship to "get by" ashore in the different cities, the seaport towns that I have been in.

The reason for that, No. 1, is that I have to have a legal residence, according to the State, of 1 year or more in order to obtain relief. Well, I am not a seaman if those laws require that. In other words, a seaman is not a seaman if he is supposed to stay ashore for a year in order to obtain relief. And No. 2 is that in order to get by I borrowed from friends of mine, actually asked people for something to eat; that is, asking people for something to eat by visiting homes, or people on the street; and it is out of the question for me to obtain help from the different seamen's agencies that house seamen on this basis, because they do not have the cash to carry on.

Mr. Sparkman. I was under the impression that seamen had some kind of a mutual association that they paid a certain amount of their pay into, or kind of an unemployment insurance of their own. Do you have that?

Mr. Robbins. Not that I know of; no; we sure have not, and the only thing that seamen come under is old-age pension, and not under the unemployment insurance at all. On the ship there is so much deducted from our salary for old-age pensions.

Mr. Sparkman. That is for old-age insurance.

Mr. Robbins. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. You feel, then, that some changes should be made?

Mr. Robbins. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. Sparkman. To take care of the seamen who, through no fault of their own, are out of work.

Mr. Robbins. That is right; for no fault of their own they are out of work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And certainly you do not have the right to pick the place where you will be thrown out of work, and therefore you may be a migrant in a State not your own.

Mr. ROBBINS. That is the point. That is true. I am glad that you brought that up. The seamen themselves, through no fault of their own, are thrown out of work, because of the ship's tying up, sickness, and so forth. If they cannot obtain relief from the different cities they are in, the seaport towns they are in, in the United States, on the basis I was explaining a few minutes ago; if they had to stay in these cities 1 year or more, according to the laws, well, they are automatically thrown in the same category that the workers are that travel from one State to another.

In other words, what we call "landlubbers"; we are automatically thrown in the same category that the landlubbers are in, going from one State to the other, in order to get by or do the best we can until we get another job.

Many times, I am stating the facts, I have had to sleep either on a park bench in a park, or lay out on the grass somewhere and sleep in order to get a night's rest. Not a night's rest, but in order to do the best I could, because there is no other facility provided for me, and I myself think that the Government should provide some kind of Federal relief for us, because we are wards of the Federal Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All right, Mr. Robbins; I have no more questions.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Robbins, I will not detain you long, but it occurred to me that there is a very distinct Federal problem in here. Because of the very nature of your occupations, you are not grounded in any community. And what I am about to ask you, or suggest, is not a question for settlement here.

But in normal times, when seamen's employment is more steady, do many of those seamen attempt, even though they do not get to it for months or years, to establish some sort of legal grounding, you might say, in some place where they have some contact back there; of a small amount of property assessed so that they pay a few dollars taxes and attempt to vote occasionally? Is that entirely out of the picture with all seamen, or is that attempted?

Mr. ROBBINS. No; it is not entirely out of the picture, but as the average seaman is employed only six months in a year, it is impossible for him to buy property. I might give you an example from my own experience, as to establishing the right to vote. In the city that I came from, Mobile, Ala., I tried to establish myself to vote. All right; what was the result? A friend of mine there went down to the courthouse with me and I registered, and I gave him the money, and he could not go down to pay my poll tax; I forgot what ward this was in the city of Mobile, but he sent another person down there with it to pay it, and the other person came back and told him that he had paid it, but this friend of mine was in such a hurry to get away that he forgot to ask him for a receipt and so he never got it. So I think that the man stole the money.

Mr. CURTIS. Those things will happen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Under the laws of Alabama, Mr. Robbins is entitled to establish legal residence in Mobile, I am quite sure of that, although that may not be true in other States. And, just as you stated, that you acknowledged that in paying the money for your poll tax, but I do realize that that problem is not true with a great many of your people.

Mr. ROBBINS. Now, I would like to stress on a little more of this.

I came from the west coast last year to the east coast; I came from Portland, Oreg., to New York City, and my transportation was in boxcars, in freight trains. Now, I came from San Francisco up to Portland, I had got off the ship in San Francisco. The name of the ship was the *Florence Luckenbach*, and the reason I could not stay aboard the ship any longer was the second assistant engineer. He and I could not agree with each other and I thought the best thing I could do was to get off the ship, and so I did.

I got off, and I stayed in San Francisco for about 2 weeks, to make sure whether I could ship there or not, but I could not ship there under 2 or 3 months. Well, there was no relief there for us, so I went to Portland, Oreg., and in Portland, Oreg., I found it was the same thing. On the way up I spent most of my money to travel, for food, and so forth, and I had very little money when I arrived in Portland.

I found the same thing in Portland; no relief or facilities for the seamen, so I decided to come across country and I came across country to New York City, and the only place that I received help from was from the welfare bureau of the National Maritime Union, insofar as relief is concerned.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All right. Thank you, Mr. Robbins.

Mr. ROBBINS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Miss Dickason here?

TESTIMONY OF GLADYS DICKASON, DIRECTOR, RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Dickason, I think that you have submitted a statement to the committee.

Miss DICKASON. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I have submitted some documents to the committee, and I will not make any further statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Those statements will be received for the record.

The documents above referred to were received for the record and read as follows:

MIGRATION OF THE SHIRT INDUSTRY

(Prepared by Gladys Dickason, Director, Research Department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America)

One of the causes of the migration of workers from one State to another is the migration of industry itself. When factories long established in one locality move, the workers who have previously been employed there are left without jobs. What happens to people thus thrown out of work? Those who would be willing to move with their migrating shops often find that their employers will not hire them because the towns in which they plan to open their factories require them to employ local help. Some of the workers left behind may be reabsorbed into local industries, others may find it necessary to accept some form of relief or private charity, while still others begin themselves to travel around in search of employment. Particularly in those areas where the migrating plant has been the main industry in the town, workers often find it necessary to resort to migration themselves.

Such has been the experience of many shirt workers in various towns and cities in Pennsylvania and in New York. Statistical data on the number of these workers who migrate are not available because, as yet, no group, private or public, has attempted a study of this subject. During the last few years, however, increasing number of shirt workers, left stranded when their factories moved away, have been wandering from State to State in search of employment. These individuals who have all of their lifetime remained in one town and worked steadily at regular employment, suddenly find themselves transformed into migratory workers.

Migration within the shirt industry is typical of the tendency toward migration in certain other branches of the apparel industry and exhibits characteristics similar to the migration of the cotton textile industry. The evidence indicates that this migration of industry is induced by two major factors, first, the search for lower wage rates, and second, removal to take advantage of subsidies, such as free rent and power, tax exemptions, etc., offered by communities.

The migration of factories in the shirt industries during the past 5 years has taken place not only from the North to the South, but from larger towns to smaller communities within the New England and Middle Atlantic States.

Frequently, garment factories which have been moved from one location to another, have been the only industry existing in the first community and after the removal of the garment factory, workers formerly employed there have been compelled either to exist on relief if it were available, or to migrate themselves in search of employment.

Relation of wage rates to numbers employed in the dress-shirt industry by States.—The Women's Bureau made a survey of average hourly earnings in the dress-shirt industry in 1936. Wide variation was found to exist in the average hourly earnings paid from State to State. The highest hourly earnings, 43.4 cents per hour, were received by shirt workers in New York. The lowest, 15.7 cents per hour, or only a little more than one-third as much as was paid in New York, were paid to shirt workers in the State of Tennessee. Employment, according to the United States Census of Manufactures, decreased in the dress-shirt industry in New York between 1935 and 1937 from 11,596 to 10,747, a decrease of nearly 8 percent. During this same period employment increased in the State of Tennessee by 57 percent.

Average hourly earnings in Missouri and Maryland were 28.9 cents and 29.6 cents per hour, respectively. These earnings amount to about two-thirds of the average hourly earnings received by shirt workers in New York State. While employment in New York was decreasing, employment in Missouri and Maryland increased by 25 and 39 percent, respectively. There is some disagreement on what the course of employment has been in Pennsylvania between the years 1935 and 1937. While figures from the Census of Manufactures show an increase of 5½ percent in employment, State indexes show a decline of 2.2 percent. Our records indicate that the State index is, in this particular case, more accurate. (Attached are tables showing employment and average hourly earnings by States.) The States of New York and Pennsylvania are examples of areas that are losing industry because of the concessions offered manufacturers in other sections of the country. As a result of this trend, many workers in both of these States find it necessary to travel in search of employment. They add to the already growing ranks of the migratory workers.

The enforcement of the apparel order under the Fair Labor Standards Act providing for a minimum of 32½ cents per hour in the dress shirt industry, will tend to eliminte unfair competition based on wages paid to labor. The factors determining location of industry will be other than the search for low wages, at least insofar as a 32½ cents minimum affects this search. In the New York Times of March 26, 1939, however, specialists in industrial locations, were quoted as saying that migration of certain types of industry from New York city has not been halted by the wages-and-hours law and that the trend is attributable to causes other than labor conditions.

Stimulation of migration by community subsidy.—While the offering of inducements of cash contributions to pay for removal, free rent, alteration of building without cost to prospective occupant and other forms of subsidy is by no means unknown in the New England and middle Atlantic States, at least in the shirt industry, this form of inducement to removal has been more common in the Southern States. That it has not been without effect is evidenced by the fact that the number of wage earners in the Southern States increased by 194 percent between 1933 and 1937, whereas, in all Northern States combined, the increase was only 14 percent, and in some States actual decreases were noted. The number of establishments in the South increased by 48 percent, while the number in the North decreased by 14 percent. The increase in the South during the period from 1937 to 1939, with a corresponding decrease during the same period in the Northern area, has undoubtedly been more marked, although census figures for 1939 are not yet available on this point.

Chambers of commerce, local governments, railroads, and power companies, working directly or through factory-locating agencies, make every effort to encourage industry to migrate to their particular locality. Concessions in the form of free rent, gifts of factory buildings, tax exemption, and free power, light, and water are offered as inducements. Aiding industrial migration are professional factory-locating services whose business it is to sell firms the idea of moving their factories to other areas. Attached to this statement are copies of letters sent to a northern manufacturer by various local groups interested in having him locate in their communities. Free rent is offered as one of the attractions.

One of the most highly developed plans for encouraging industry to migrate to the South is that of the Southeastern Governors Conference.

In a descriptive circular sent out by the Southeastern Governors Conference upon request for information, they state their objectives to be the aid and protection of industrial development in the Southeast. They announce that they plan by means of advertising to publicize the opportunity which the Southeast offers to industry in the form of "unlimited supplies of raw materials, ample power at low rates, native-born labor, efficient and reasonable." They also offer to any organization, without cost, any specialized engineering and survey facilities that may be required by any industry interested in moving to the Southeast. A copy of this circular is attached hereto.

In 1936 the State of Mississippi began what was known as the Balance Agriculture with Industry program. At the suggestion of Gov. Hugh L. White, the State legislature passed a law which provided that any municipality, with the approval of the industrial commission and a two-thirds vote of its electors, could issue bonds to be used by the municipality for the acquisition of land and construction of buildings for new industries. The municipalities, upon authorization by the industrial commission, "are * * * empowered, if they so desire, by and through their governing board, to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such industrial enterprise or enterprises."[1] (A copy of this law is attached hereto.)

Power companies, too, have been instrumental in encouraging industry to move southward. In Mississippi a private power concern wanted to buy the city's municipal power plant and the town wanted a factory. The power company was sold to the private company and in order to get around legal technicalities, the chamber of commerce set up a corporation which received a sum of money from the power company to build a garment factory.

In another case a power plant was reported to have contributed a large sum of money to help erect a factory building in Mississippi. This kind of contribution by power companies as part of a general program to induce industry to settle in the South is not unusual.

Another method frequently used to raise money for the subsidizing of new industries is to deduct a percentage every week from the wages of the workers in the plant. Illustrations of this practice are included in the Appendix.

New industries not always beneficial to towns to which they migrate.—In many cases, however, new concerns which have migrated to the South have not proved to be assets to the towns in which they have settled. Wages paid by these companies have sometimes been as low as 10 cents an hour. It has been necessary, in some cases, for communities to supplement incomes earned in these plants with home relief or some form of private charity. Sometimes hours worked in these establishments have run as high as 50 or 60 a week. In North Carolina one shirt firm was convicted of violating the State law which prohibits women working more than 55 hours a week and a law which prohibits girls under 18 working after 9 p. m. In discussing this case, Thomas Stokes, staff writer of the New York World-Telegram, states in the January 18, 1937, edition of that paper as follows:

"The testimony of a 17-year-old girl that she had worked 69 hours a week for 8 cents an hour; of a 15-year-old girl that she had made $4.93 for 2 weeks of piece work, and of a 46-year-old woman that she made 8 cents an hour, provoked the prosecuting attorney to this outcry: 'This is the Good Samaritan come down from New York to do charity to the good people of Dixie. I'll tell you why they come down here. Such things have been outlawed up North.'"

The experience of Meridian, Miss., with subsidizing industry was not entirely successful either. In 1934 the citizens of this town raised $100,000 to build a factory for the Phillips-Jones Shirt Co. This was given rent-free and tax-free to the company, with the understanding that when the company had paid out $1,000,000 in wages it was to receive title to the building. In May 1939, after Phillips-Jones had dispensed $1,000,000 in wages and acquired title to the building the firm ceased operations completely. They then offered to sell the building to which they had obtained title free of charge from the town.

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[1] According to the Daily News Record of January 29, 1940, Gov. Paul B. Johnson, who took office January 16 of this year, stated that the "balance agriculture with industry" program will be amended or abolished.

Appendix I

SAMPLE LISTING OF TYPES OF SUBSIDY OFFERED TO INDUCE REMOVAL OF SHIRT FACTORIES

The following material has been drawn from newspaper clippings, reports of townspeople, and examination of contracts between various companies and local Government agencies.

The cases that follow are typical examples of how industry is induced to migrate through offers of various kinds of subsidies.

Mississippi.—Levine, Harris & Smith, a firm which manufactures shirts and pajamas in Pennsylvania, bought a building in Gulfport, Miss., which originally had been built by the town. The concern began operating February 1937, tax exempt. Before the opening of the Gulfport plant, the factory at Williamsport, Pa., employed about 700 people, but after the opening of the Gulfport plant employment was reduced to two to three hundred workers, and at the present time the Williamsport plant is closed down entirely.

Bernstein & Sons, another shirt firm, which for many years operated in Allentown, Pa., opened a plant in Crystal Springs, Miss., in August 1936. This company was given free light and water and was exempt for 5 years from the payment of taxes.

The Daily News Record of February 25, 1938, reports that the Amory Garment Co., located at Amory, Miss., refused the town's offer to erect a factory through a $50,000 bond issue. The company, however, accepted a 5-year tax exemption on its site, building, and equipment.

Tennessee.—According to our records in Tennessee, in 1937, out of a group of 86 factories investigated, 50 were found to be receiving some form of subsidy.

The town of Waverly, Tenn., built a factory which it turned over rent-free for 10 years, to Snelbaker Manufacturing Co., producer of work shirts and work pants. This firm had maintained plants at Mechanicsburg and York Springs, Pa., for years. In addition to free rent, the town of Waverly agreed that after the 10-year period rent was not to exceed $150 per month. Free water and free lights were also provided. No taxes were to be paid by the company. Workers in this shop were required to sign a contract that they would pay a percentage of their wages to the town to cover the cost of the subsidy.

Henry I. Siegel, a shirt and pants manufacturer, opened a plant at Dickson, Tenn. He closed his factory in Scranton, Pa. Many of the 450 people thus thrown out of work were forced on to the relief rolls. The plant in Dickson was built by the citizens of the town and rented to the company for $1 a year. The company received 5 years of tax exemption, free power, light, and water. For a considerable period of time 6 percent of the wages of the employees were deducted to pay for the building. Eventually, after much litigation, the company was forced to pay rent and taxes.

On December 2, 1937, the newspaper, the Sparta Expositor, announced that negotiations had been completed with the Mylan Manufacturing Co. of New York for locating their shirt plant in Sparta, Tenn. The cost of moving the company's machinery to Sparta was partly defrayed by $5,000 donated by the townspeople.

The Washington Manufacturing Co. was offered the following inducements by the town of Milan to open a plant—rent of $1 a year, free water, free electricity, and no taxes. Deductions were made from the workers' wages to pay the cost of building the factory.

Mississippi.—H. D. Bob & Co., manufacturers of dress shirts, work shirts, and pajamas, operated a number of plants in Pennsylvania and one in New York. In 1937 the firm opened a new plant in Picayune, Miss., under the name of the Picayune Manufacturing Co. Money for the construction of the building was raised by the town. It was agreed that the company would pay no rent and no taxes.

In 1938 H. D. Bob & Co. opened a dress shirt plant in Natchez, Miss., under the name of the Natchez Fabricating Institute. The factory building in Natchez was erected by the town and it is reported that a Mississippi power company pledged a large sum of money for this purpose. It was agreed that if within 7 years the pay roll of the factory amounts to $1,000,000, the deed for the land and building be given to the company. It was agreed further that the plant was to operate tax-exempt and rent-free. More than 1,200 workers, formerly employed by the H. D. Bob & Co. in New York and Pennsylvania, have been left without jobs since the firm opened its Mississippi plants. A few of these workers have been able to find employment, many of them were forced to go on relief, while others began to migrate in search of work.

South Carolina.—The Daily News Record of January 13, 1939, reports that "Mayor L. B. Owens, of Columbia, S. C., has announced that sites suitable for erection of industrial plants have been offered by Columbia, rent free, by property owners of Richland County. The mayor said an effort would be made to have manufacturing plants locate in Columbia or its trade area. Offers received by the municipality are conditioned on the erection of industrial plants and will remain rent free as long as the plants are in operation * * * the proposition being offered manufacturers was free rent on property and free taxes for a 5-year period."

The Daily News Record of July 3, 1940, reports the following: "Mayor S. M. McAdams of Iva, S. C., states that plans are under way here for establishment of a new shirt factory. The city council has voted to permit the shirt factory company to go free of taxation for 5 years and to be granted a free license."

Georgia.—When the Royal Manufacturing Co., makers of dress shirts and underwear, came to Washington, Ga., the town contributed $20,000, and the workers, by signing notes for future deductions, contributed $20,000. This firm also operates plants in Pennsylvania. The workers there have lost a substantial part of their employment because of the opening of the Georgia plant. Before the wage-hour law, it was reported that these workers in the Georgia plant were receiving from $3 to $5 per week.

APPENDIX II

TREND OF EMPLOYMENT IN DRESS SHIRT INDUSTRY

Trend of employment and location of factories, men's dress shirts, collars, and sleeping wear,[1] 1933 to 1937

	1933		1937		Percent change	
	Number of establishments	Number of wage earners	Number of establishments	Number of wage earners	Number of establishments	Number of wage earnners
North	[1] 567	[1] 52, 270	486	59, 437	−17	+14
South	29	2, 759	43	8, 157	+48	+194
United States	596	[1] 55, 029	529	67, 594	−13	+23

[1] Collar establishments and wage earners (all in the North) added to shirts and nightwear to obtain totals comparable with 1937.

Source: Calculated from data presented in the Census of Manufactures, 1933 and 1937. Method of calculation explained in attached note.

States included in "South" are those which were so classed, in their entirety, under the Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Garment Industry.

Trend of employment, dress shirts,[1] 1935–37

	Number of wage earners [2]		Percent change	Average hourly earnings, 1936 [3]
	1935	1937		
New York	11, 596	10, 747	−7. 9	43. 4
Pennsylvania	19, 509	20, 588	5. 5	40. 5
New Jersey	5, 138	5, 749	12. 0	38. 0
Maryland	3, 057	4, 261	39. 0	29. 6
Missouri	2, 841	3, 539	25. 0	28. 9
Tennessee	498	781	56. 8	15. 7

[1] See note on method of calculation used.

[2] Number of Wage Earners, 1935, from tabulation of Bureau of the Census. Number of Wage Earners, 1937, Census of Manufactures.

[3] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau Bulletin, No. 163–1, Hours and Earnings in Certain Men's Wear Industries, p. 26.

NOTE ON METHOD OF CALCULATION OF NUMBER OF WORKERS, NORTH AND SOUTH, 1933 AND 1937

The average size of establishment in each region was determined from total employment and total number of establishments in those States in each region where this data was available by States.

The average size of factory in each region was multiplied by the number of factories in that region for which employment was not included in the State reports. From the results of this calculation, weights were obtained which were applied to the total number of undistributed wage earners reported by the Census to ascertain the number of such wage earners in each region. The total so calculated was added to the number of wage earners reported by States in each region to obtain the total employment by regions as presented in the attached table.

The results of this method of obtaining total wage earners by regions underestimates employment in the South in 1937 when compared with results obtained by totaling number of wage earners in each region from records of firms and number of wage earners in the Research Department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

APPENDIX III

SAMPLE LETTERS OFFERING INDUCEMENTS TO MANUFACTURERS TO MIGRATE

ST. PAUL, VA., *February 26, 1940.*

I note you are seeking a southern location. If so we can offer you a good location.

St. Paul, Va., is situated at the junction of the Norfolk & Western and Clinchfield Railroads, which provide quick transportation facilities in all directions. Fast freight makes it an ideal location for quick service. Hard-surfaced highways lead in all directions. We are located on Clinch River at the edge of an industrial section in which coal mining predominates. On the other side is a rich farm territory where cattle are fattened for export on bluegrass alone, the only place in the world where this can be done. We have paved streets, concrete sidewalks, and excellent filtration plant and water system, sewer system, fire protection, cheap power, modern schools and churches, national banking facilities.

We furnish free sites for factory buildings, exemption from local taxes for a period of 5 years, and other concessions.

Labor is supplied by native Anglo-Saxon workmen who are not in sympathy with union and strikes.

You may expect the fullest cooperation from the businessmen of the community in the event labor troubles should arise in the future, but we do not anticipate any labor troubles— they are almost unknown in this locality.

Any information desired will be furnished promptly.

Very truly yours,

J. J. COXE,
Chairman, Board of Directors.

Letterhead of

FINKELSTEIN SEWING MACHINE CO., INC.
45–51 West 25th Street
NEW YORK

FOR SALE OR FOR RENT

A complete factory consisting of 110 sewing machines, complete cutting department, and complete pressing department, including four pressing machines, 220 miles from New York City, situated in Renovo, Pa. (40 miles from Williamsport).

This plant was formerly owned by the H. D. Bob Shirt Manufacturer for 16 years, and has been used for the last 15 months, to manufacture ladies' sportswear.

The town is willing to give free rent for the loft only, to any manufacturer situated there.

There are 300 experienced operators in this town, of the finest type, and at no time has there been any labor trouble. This is the only factory located within a radius of 40 miles.

For further information, please telephone or write to Irving C. Finkelstein, 45 West Twenty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.

Telephone WAtkins 9–3160.

APPENDIX IV

PROGRAM OF SOUTHEASTERN GOVERNORS CONFERENCE

SOUTHEASTERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE
ATLANTA, GA.—WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 19, 1938.

Miss NANCY ROTHNOCK,
Research Department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MADAM: Your letter to Mr. Robert has come in during his absence. We are in the process of making up a brochure outlining the objectives of the southeastern Governors' conference, and will be glad to send it to you later.

In the meantime I am enclosing a reprint which may be of interest.

Very truly yours,

CARROLL DOWNES.
LAWRENCE WOOD ROBERT, Jr.,
Executive Director, Southeastern Governors' Conference.

THE SOUTHEAST LAUNCHES PROGRAM FOR PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

Through the Southeastern Governors Conference

The Southeast of the United States comes now to make a bid for glory, with what appears to be the happiest conjunction of the time and the equipment, of destiny and opportunity, that has ever been its experience.

At the very hour when word comes to the effect that authoritative surveys point to the Southeastern States as scene of the next great industrial expansion in the Nation, announcement is made of a program "to aid and protect industrial development in the Southeast," pressed by the Southeastern Governors Conference.

It seems to thrust straight at the heart of the opportunity, simple and direct. There is no effort to overpower opportunity by cumbersome, expensive methods and empty platitudes as marked many an occasion in the past. The new movement drives straight to the issue, the need and the job.

No other movement seems to have been so well integrated as that which the Southeastern Governors Conference has undertaken in this connection. We well may hope, therefore, for results beyond any precedent.

The conference is composed of the Governors of North and South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi. Taking directly to the people of the United States their message of the opportunities and the assured promise which this region holds, they are announcing their program by means of advertisements appearing this month in publications with Nation-wide circulation.

They are saying to industry that the Southeastern States offer unlimited supplies of raw materials, ample power at low rates (perhaps the lowest in the Nation), excellent transportation facilities to growing markets, and native-born labor, efficient and reasonable.

They are driving home to manufacturers the facts that in the Southeast are to be found unexcelled year round moderate climate which makes possible lower living costs for better standards of living, lower production costs, lower construction costs, lower capital investments.

Recognizing that there are several definite assurances which must be given, along with the statement of these undeniable advantages, the Southeastern Governors have pledged themselves to guarantee (with confidence of success), the following:

Proper freight rates, equitable taxation policies, friendly and stabilized relations between employer and employee, cooperation with the Federal Government on proper major policies affecting industrial development.

There have been other attempts to set up organizations for rousing industries' attention to the opportunities afforded by the Southeast as a section. The undertaking in each instance, however, has been abandoned because of the complications, expense, and confusion that overwhelm the major achievement and because the leadership of a caliber that enjoyed the confidence that permitted the cutting of red tape, was lacking.

The beauty of the program which is announced here for the first time is its simplicity—it is the fact that the campaign is well-formed, the organization complete, the work under way, the consecration of effort at its height, even as it is revealed.

There has been no politics or ballyhoo, no meetings nor futile talk, no squandering of time or money. The enterprise actually is started.

This happy arrangement has been made possible because the time of opportunity has been matched with the man of accomplishment.

He is Lawrence Wood Robert, Jr., who is designated as industrial consultant of the conference. It was Mr. Robert, a man of dynamic energy, with an equipment of practical experience and innumerable personal and business contacts, who went straight to the meat of the matter.

He leaped the hurdles of preliminary organization and palaver. He undertook, with none of the expenditures which eat away the materials of effective operation on the main idea, to assemble the leadership which the Governors represented.

He won enthusiastic support quietly but surely. He saw, as a man close to national affairs and their figures, that the time of opportunity had come definitely to the Southeast and he set out to take advantage of it.

He saw that the Southeast is growing as a market in itself and that its contacts with other regions were being developed. He saw that we are at the start of an era of decentralization of industry, and that no other region may match the Southeast's array of advantages in development of this policy.

He won cooperation through personal contacts and interviews, so that already most of the nine State governments of the region are committed to support of the movement, as well as municipalities, industrial leaders, railroads, utilities and other instrumentalities of public service.

Money was required from these agencies—not money for organization, salaries, propaganda of the sort with which the Nation is all but swamped. It was required to pay for the message which within the month will appear in national publications—for the invitation to look upon the Southeast as the new frontier of American development and to come here to seize the opportunities.

Much of the support has been assembled, other support has been pledged, still other support is sought with confidence that it will be forthcoming. The campaign is on.

An advertising agency experienced in effective national promotion has been retained as counsel, with result of the series of advertisements which simultaneously with this announcement will be emblazoned from coast to coast, from end to end of the Nation.

It is an appeal which is based honestly on the offer of advantages to those who are interested and who may serve the occasion and at the same time be served by it. It is intensely practical and without the mask of pretense and of eloquent mouthings that mean nothing in actual results.

It is an appeal to business and industry which has a sound basis of facts, and a refreshing tone of frankness and sense. The people and the interests to whom the appeal is made are those who may be expected to profit by realization of the promise.

We in the Southeast have known for years of the advantages which this region holds. The time has come in the trend of national development and rejuvenated activities when these advantages are at least impressed upon the consciousness of people elsewhere. They are soon to be revealed in the result of surveys which have been conducted by national agencies and publications.

The purpose of the Southeastern Governors Conference is to assure the trend being intelligently directed toward the Southeast, by keeping its advantages constantly before the Nation and to supply, without cost to any organization set-up, any specialized engineering and survey facilities that may be required from the interest aroused on the part of any given industry. It is a bright purpose—launched with all the efficiency of private business and embodying all of the assets and advantages of a sectional appeal. It insures, with the beginning of greatest era of industrial expansion this region has ever known, that the full fruits of the advantages of this expansion will be brought to the Southeastern section, because practical men, in a very practical way, have gone to work to make it so.

APPENDIX V

THE "BALANCE AGRICULTURE WITH INDUSTRY" PROGRAM OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

Jackson

I, Walker Wood, secretary of state of the State of Mississippi, do hereby certify that the within and attached is a true and correct copy of chapter 1, Senate bill No. 1, first extraordinary session, Mississippi Legislature, 1936, enrolled bill the original of which is now a matter of record in this office.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Mississippi, this the 21st day of February 1939.

[SEAL]

WALKER WOOD,
Secretary of State.

LAWS OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

CHAPTER 1

Senate Bill No. 1

AN ACT Recognizing Mississippi's necessity to protect its people by balancing agriculture with industry, declaring the state's public policy in that respect, creating the Mississippi Industrial Commission to carry out the provisions of this act, outlining its duties and powers, and making effectual that essential by authorizing the several counties, supervisors' districts, and municipalities of this state to acquire industrial enterprises to issue bonds or other obligations therefor, to operate such industries, to dispose of them, and generally to make such contracts relative to such industries as are essential; authorizing port commissions to assist in such plan; and for other purposes

PREAMBLE

Whereas there exists an acute, economic emergency for which the requisite remedy is the balancing of agriculture with industry as herein done, said emergency having decreased Mississippi's industrial enterprises so that many of her citizens are on relief and are leaving the state; and

Whereas the purchasing power of her citizens has been seriously impaired and agricultural activities have been curtailed by reason of conditions for which her citizens are in no way responsible, and the markets for her principal export, cotton, have been threatened and are being occupied by other nations; and

Whereas the sole remedy for saving agriculture in Mississippi is to develop industry so that her citizens may be afforded a livelihood and not be forced to seek gainful employment outside of her borders; and

Whereas the natural resources and raw products of the state are being carried beyond its boundaries for processing and for preparation for market to the detriment of its citizens; and

Whereas provision must be made for giving employment to her citizens when direct and indirect federal government relief is no longer existent; and

Whereas public necessity requires that cotton, cotton seed, clay, sand, gravel, wood, vegetable oil, nut oil, hides, vegetables, grain, grass, hay, potatoes, sugar cane, and other natural resources and products of the state should be processed and prepared in this state for market, thereby giving employment to the citizens and preventing dependency on governmental assistance through doles and relief; and

Whereas it is deemed necessary by the legislature of the state of Mississippi to relieve such existing, emergency conditions and present public policy demands a program to encourage and to promote agriculture and industry, and to balance agricultural development with industrial expansion for the promotion of the general public welfare; now, Therefore, SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi,* That it is hereby declared that the state public welfare demands and the state public policy requires:

(a) That agriculture be balanced with industry.

(b) That a commission to carry out the plans be created as proposed in this act.

(c) That the present and prospective health, safety, morals, pursuit of happiness, right to gainful employment and general welfare of its citizens demand, as a public purpose, the development within Mississippi of industrial and manufacturing enterprises, herein called "enterprises," by the several counties, supervisors' districts and municipalities, herein called "municipalities."

(d) That the means and measures herein authorized to promote said industrial enterprises are, as a matter of public policy, for the public purposes of the several counties, supervisors' districts and municipalities, and of the state of Mississippi.

(e) That the present and prospective promotion of health, safety, morals, pursuit of happiness, right to gainful employment and the general welfare of the state requires the balancing of agriculture with industrial enterprises as herein and hereby authorized, and is the sole effective remedy through which such may be accomplished, and there will thereby be afforded ready and attractive markets for farm and garden products, for the development of natural resources, and for conversion of raw materials of farm, mine and forest into finished products for the general welfare of each of said municipalities and of the people of this state.

(f) That the accomplishment of those things herein authorized to be done by the several municipalities will give to said municipalities local benefits peculiar to each of said municipalities through industrial development for municipal purposes.

SEC. 2. That there is hereby created the Mississippi industrial commission, herein called "commission," to be known as such, and to be composed of three commissioners appointed by the governor, who shall serve as such until April 1, 1940, or until their successors are appointed and qualified. In case of vacancy, the governor shall appoint a successor or successors as often as essential. The governor shall designate one of said commissioners as chairman of the commission, who shall be the executive and presiding officer and shall devote his entire time to the welfare of the state as entrusted herein to the commission. The remaining two commissioners shall devote only such time to the work of the commission as shall be necessary to perform the powers and duties herein defined. The chairman of said commission shall receive a salary to be fixed by the governor not exceeding the sum of five hundred dollars ($500.00) per month, and the other commissioners shall receive a per diem to be fixed by the governor not exceeding the sum of fifteen dollars ($15.00) per day, when actually engaged upon business of the commission; and all commissioners shall receive actual traveling and subsistence expenses, while away from their homes, during the time that they are engaged upon the duties of the commission, but in no event is the compensation of the commissioners, other than the chairman, excluding expenses, to exceed the sum of two hundred twenty-five dollars ($225.00) per month. Before entering upon the discharge of the duties of their office, each of said commissioners, including the chairman, shall take the oath of office required of state officers, and shall enter into a good and sufficient surety bond in the sum of ten thousand dollars ($10,000.00) payable to the state of Mississippi, and conditioned upon the faithful performance of the duties of their office and for a true accounting of all money and property that may come into their custody, and said bonds shall be subject to the approval of the governor. The commission shall be provided with suitable office space in the city of Jackson by the state capitol commission.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, the chairman is hereby authorized to appoint such employees of said commission as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of this act, but no member of the legislature shall be employed by the commission, and to fix the salaries of such employees, subject to the approval of the governor. All of said employees shall be removable at the pleasure of the chairman of the commission, and none shall be related by consanguinity or affinity within the third degree to any commissioner or any member of the legislature.

SEC. 4. The salaries of the chairman, of the commissioners, and all employees, and all other expenditures, shall be paid from appropriations for the expense of the commission, and an itemized account thereof shall be kept and reported to the legislature, and in no event shall the amount expended exceed the appropriation made by the legislature.

Sec. 5. The commission shall meet at its office in the city of Jackson on the first Tuesday of each month and at such other times and places as its duties may require, it being expressly authorized to adjourn from time to time and place to place, and to convene special meetings by written notice given by the chairman to the members, but at said special meetings, except by unanimous consent, no business other than that specified in the notice may be considered; precedent notice may be dispensed with by unanimous consent. The notice of special meetings shall be given one full day prior to the time of said meeting.

Sec. 6. The commission may sit from day to day and time to time, but not exceeding twenty-five (25) days in any month. The commission shall keep regular minutes of its proceedings in a well-bound book provided for that purpose, which shall be a public record, and all orders, findings, and acts of the commission shall be entered on its minutes. Two members of the commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and a vice chairman may be elected by the commission to preside in the absence of the chairman. Said commission shall have an official seal, and all orders, findings, and acts certified under the seal of the commission, signed by the chairman or any member, and the secretary of said commission shall be competent evidence and shall be given full faith and credit in any court or other proceeding, and unless affirmatively shown to the contrary, it shall be presumed that the proceedings of the commission were in all things regular.

Sec. 7. The commission is charged with the duty of making effective and declared public policy of this State to balance agriculture with industry, and for that purpose is hereby authorized and empowered to determine, under the provisions of this act, whether the public convenience and necessity require that any municipality shall have the right to acquire lands and thereon to erect industrial enterprises and to operate them and to dispose of such lands and industrial enterprises. Each municipality that desires to conserve the state's general welfare and to conform to the public policy herein declared, shall have the right to apply to the commission for a certificate of public convenience and necessity, determining that the public convenience and necessity and that the general welfare require that such municipality enter into such enterprise. In determining whether such certificate shall be issued, the commission shall hold public hearings, and at such hearings, the commission or any member thereof, shall have power to summon witnesses, administer oaths and hear testimony, and a record shall be made of all things had and done at such public hearing, but a failure to make such record shall not invalidate the certificate of convenience and necessity if the same shall be ordered issued by the commission.

Sec. 8. Said Mississippi industrial commission shall investigate, find, and determine the following matters upon application of any municipality therefor, to wit:

(a) Upon written request of any municipality in this state, which request shall be made only after the governing board thereof shall have received the petitions of 20% or more of the qualified electors of said municipality, the commission shall hold hearings and make investigations to determine whether said municipality has sufficient natural resources, available labor supply, adequate property values, and suitable financial conditions to permit such municipality to acquire such enterprise without undue burden upon said municipality and its citizens. In determining the sufficiency of natural resources, the availability of labor supply, the adequacy of property values, and the suitability of the financial conditions of such municipality, the commission shall make a complete survey of the natural resources, of the labor conditions, of present and potential property values and assessments, outstanding bonded indebtedness, and the amount of tax levy required for present and potential needs of the particular municipality.

No certificate of public convenience and necessity shall be issued to any municipality to which there is not available, or that does not have, or that may not obtain:

(1) Sufficient natural resources readily and economically available for the operation of the particular industrial enterprise for at least ten (10) years, but in no event less than the period of time for which any bonds may be issued for acquiring said industrial enterprise.

(2) Available labor supply to furnish at least one and one-half (1½) workers between the ages of 18 and 40, for each operative job in said industry within an area of twenty-five (25) miles from the proposed location, excluding labor, other than agricultural labor, already gainfully employed in said area.

(3) Adequate property values and suitable financial conditions so that the total bonded indebtedness of the municipality, solely for the purposes authorized by this act, shall not exceed ten percent (10%) of the total assessed valuation of all the property in the municipality.

When the commission shall have determined said facts favorably, as outlined hereinabove, it is authorized and empowered, having regard to the promotion of the general welfare, to issue or to refuse to issue a certificate of public convenience and necessity. If such certificate is issued, it shall authorize the particular municipality to acquire, to own, and to operate the particular type of industry found suited to the needs of that municipality under the provisions of this act; but the said certificate shall expire in twelve (12) months from its date and in all events on April 1, 1940, unless, within said time, such enterprise shall be in operation, subject to the other provisions of this act as to pending litigation. Provided, however, that in no event shall said commission authorize any municipality to operate any enterprise unless said commission shall further find and determine that said enterprise is well conceived, has a reasonable prospect of success, will relieve unemployment, or will add materially to the financial and business interest of the municipality, will not become a burden upon the taxpayers of the municipality, and that the municipal officers proposing to operate said enterprise are suitable, competent and fit persons to direct and control such operations.

(b) When said certificate of public convenience and necessity is issued, then the commission shall therein fix and determine: (1) the extent to which the municipality may issue bonds or make expenditures for such enterprise; (2) what property may be acquired therefor; (3) the terms upon which such acquisition may be had; (4) what expenditures may be made for the construction or acquisition of buildings and of equipment with its installation, and for the operation of said enterprise by said municipality; and approval by the commission shall condition the power of the municipality to act. If the governing board of such municipality refuse to follow the requirements made by the commission, then the members of such governing board violating any of said requirements or voting therefor, shall be individually and personally liable, and liable upon their official bonds, for any loss that the municipality may sustain by reason of their failure or refusal to follow the requirements, and may be compelled in the discretion of the chancery court or chancellor to comply therewith by order or decree of the chancery court, or chancellor in vacation, of the county in which such municipality is situated, upon bill or petition filed for the purpose by the commission, and chancery courts and chancellors of the state are hereby vested with jurisdiction for such purpose. Such proceedings shall be preference cases and may be advanced on the docket ahead of all other pending litigation. And such proceedings may be heard upon three days' notice served upon the governing board or the offending members thereof, said notice to be served in the manner as provided by law for the service of notice to dissolve injunctions; and appeals may be granted as in other chancery suits.

(c) The commission is hereby authorized and empowered to adopt and put into effect all reasonable rules and regulations that it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, but not inconsistent herewith. Such rules and regulations shall be made public by publication in at least one issue of a newspaper of general circulation, published in the city of Jackson, Mississippi.

Sec. 9. The governing board of any municipality desiring to enter into the plan herein authorized, after receiving a certificate of public convenience and necessity from the Mississippi industrial commission as provided by this act, by resolution spread upon its minutes, shall declare its intention of entering into such plan, and shall call an election to be held in the manner now provided by law for holding county or municipal elections, and shall fix in such resolution a date upon which such an election shall be held in said municipality, of which not less than three (3) weeks' notice shall be given by the clerk of said board, by a notice in a newspaper published in said municipality once each week for three (3) consecutive weeks preceding the same, or if no newspaper is published in said municipality, then by posting a notice for three (3) weeks preceding said election at three (3) public places in said municipality. At such election all qualified electors of the municipality may vote, and the ballots used shall have printed thereon a brief statement of the purpose of said board to enter into the plan hereby authorized and to issue bonds therefor or to expend other municipal funds available together with the words "For the Industrial Plan" and the words "Against the Industrial Plan" and the voter shall vote by placing a cross (X) opposite his choice of the proposition. Should the election provided for herein result in favor of the proposed industrial plan and bond issue, or expenditure by at least two-thirds of those voting in favor of said plan, provided, however, the total number of votes cast in the election shall be a majority of the electors of the territory included in the proposal; the governing board may proceed to exercise the authority granted under the provisions of this act within one (1) year after the date of such election or within one (1) year after final, favorable determination of any litigation affecting said industrial plan or bond issue, but in no event later than April 1, 1940. If such election results unfavorably to the proposition, then no second or other election shall be ordered or held until the Mississippi industrial commission shall determine that such election may be held.

Where the separate supervisor's district or districts of a county indicate a desire to enter into the plan herein authorized, but not to affect the remainder of the county, such desire to be indicated to the board of supervisors by the filing therewith of a petition or petitions containing the names of at least twenty percent (20%) of the qualified electors of such district or districts affected, then the board of supervisors shall direct the holding of said election only in the supervisor's district or districts affected, and the board of supervisors is hereby authorized to carry out the provisions of this act for such separate supervisor's district or districts.

In the event the proposal to be voted on at the election required by this act includes bonds to be issued covering a supervisor's district or districts, but not the entire county, includes a town or city of a population of more than five hundred, as well as territory outside the corporate limits of such town or city and the proposed industry is to be located in such town or city or within one mile of the corporate limits thereof, the qualified electors voting in the election residing outside the corporate limits of the town or city shall vote separately from those residing in such town or city.

All qualified electors shall vote at their usual voting places and in event the usual voting place of electors residing outside the corporate limits of such town or city is in such town or city, such elector shall vote in a separate ballot box provided for the purpose, and the officers holding the election shall make separate returns of the results of the vote of those residing within the town or city and those residing outside such towns or city.

Unless two-thirds of the qualified electors residing in such town or city voting in the election and two-thirds of the qualified electors residing outside such town or city voting in such election shall vote for the proposed bond issue, computed and declared separately, the proposed bond issue shall be declared as disapproved.

It shall be the duty of the county election commissioners to provide necessary ballot boxes, separate voting lists containing the names of electors residing within and without the corporate limits of town and cities when such is required by the proposal submitted, and records for the conduct of the election in accordance with the requirements of this section.

And in event the proposal to be voted on at the election required by this act includes bonds to be issued covering the entire county and the proposed industry is to be located in a town or city, or within one mile of the corporate limits thereof, the qualified electors voting in the election residing outside the corporate limits of said city or town, and whose regular voting place is within the corporate limits of said city or town, shall vote separately from those residing in such city or town, in separate ballot boxes to be provided for such purposes, and the votes so cast shall be counted separately.

At said election unless two-thirds of the qualified electors voting in the election and residing within the corporate limits of the city or town in which the proposed industry is to be located, or the town or city within one mile of the proposed location of the industry, shall vote for the proposed bond issue, and two-thirds of all of the other qualified electors of the county voting in said election, shall vote for the proposed bond issue, computed and declared separately, the proposed bond issue shall be declared as disapproved. All qualified electors voting in such election shall vote at their usual voting precincts, and the county election commissioners shall provide necessary boxes, separate voting lists containing the names of electors residing within and without the corporate limits of the town or city wherein such industry is proposed to be located, or such town or city within one mile of the proposed location of the industry, and records for the conduct of the election in accordance with the requirements of this section.

Sec. 10. Before any bonds shall be issued under this act by any municipality, or any contract shall be made to dispose of any public property hereunder acquired, the same must be approved in its entirety by said commission which shall enter such approval on its minutes, but such approval shall not in any way render the state of Mississippi liable.

Sec. 11. That the several municipalities of this state, including counties, supervisors' districts, cities, towns or villages, whether existing under special charters or otherwise, hereinabove called "municipalities," from and after the effective date of this act and until April 1, 1940, be and each of them is hereby authorized and empowered to make effective the provisions herein contained, for the general welfare of the state and of the several municipalities thereof. When and after such municipality shall have obtained therefor a certificate of public convenience and necessity, under the provisions of this act, then it may acquire land by purchase, gift, eminent domain or otherwise for any such enterprise so thus approved, and may directly or by contract, such contract to be entered into and governed as now provided by law for other public contracts entered into by boards of supervisors, erect such buildings and structures as may be essential for such industry, may obtain for such industry the requisite appliances and equipment, and may operate such enterprise. The power thus to do is hereby generally conferred upon all such municipalities, and shall be in addition to all other powers now possessed without in any wise limiting or circumscribing them.

Sec. 12. That said municipality, having been authorized by the commission as herein provided, may expend, for acquiring and operating such municipal enterprise, under rules and regulations adopted by the commission, any funds of the municipality then on hand or available and not already appropriated or necessary for other municipal purposes. Said municipality, after the terms and conditions have been fixed by said commission and with its approval, is hereby authorized from and after the effective date of this act and until April 1, 1940, to issue bonds of such municipality for the purpose of effectuating the provisions of this act and promoting thereby the public policy of this state and bringing about the general welfare of its people. When, if and to the extent that said bond issue shall be approved by said commission, then the same may be authorized by the governing authority of said municipality, and to secure said bond issue, said municipality may mortgage or pledge said property used and useful for said industrial enterprise, and the income therefrom, and confer upon the holders of said bonds the rights of a first mortgage bondholder. Said bond issue shall be first approved by said commission, and thereafter shall be authorized by resolution or ordinance of the governing board of the municipality in such form and with such provisions, terms, and conditions as may be fixed in said resolution or ordinance not inconsistent with the provisions of this act. Present limitations on the amount of other bonds that may be issued by such municipality shall not apply to bonds issued hereunder other than as herein otherwise provided. All such bonds shall be lithographed or engraved, and printed in two or more colors to prevent counterfeiting, and shall be in sums not less than one hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars each, and shall be numbered in a regular series from one upward, be signed by the president of the board of supervisors and countersigned by the clerk of said board; or by the mayor and countersigned by the clerk of the municipality, and either of such clerks shall impress the county or municipal seal, as the case may be, upon each bond as it is issued. Every such bond shall specify on its face the purpose for which it was issued, the total amount authorized to be issued, and each shall be made payable to bearer, and on request of any holder of said bonds the same may be registered as to principal by the clerk of the issuing board. The governing authorities shall annually levy a tax, or shall otherwise provide funds sufficient, for paying interest on such bonds and the bonds maturing within one year and shall provide a sinking fund for the redemption of the bonds issued. Said bonds shall be issued maturing annually with all maturities not longer than twenty-five (25) years with not less than one-fiftieth of the total issue to mature each year during the first five years of the life of said bonds, and not less than one twenty-fifth of said total issue to mature annually during the succeeding ten-year period of the life of said bonds, and the remainder to be divided into approximately equal payments, one payment to mature during each year for the remaining life of the bonds. Said bonds shall not bear a greater rate of interest than six percent (6%) per annum, payable annually or semi-annually, the denomination, form, and place of payment to be fixed in the authorization thereof, and for the payment thereof the good name, faith, and credit of the said municipality shall be pledged and a tax levied on all taxable property in the municipality, adequate to pay principal and interest on such bonds as the same fall due. Proceeds of said bonds shall be placed in the municipal treasury as a special fund and shall be used for no other purpose than the purpose set forth in the original resolution, and any officer diverting or assisting to divert any such fund to any other purpose than the purpose originally set forth in said resolution of the governing authority of said municipality shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, shall be punished accordingly, and shall also be liable both personally and on his official bond for such diversion, together with the costs of collection and reasonable attorney's fees; and the attorney general is authorized to proceed by action for injunction or mandamus to require compliance with said original resolution by any officer or municipal board.

Sec. 13. Any municipality having surplus sinking funds under the provisions of this act may, in the discretion of the governing board of said municipality, invest said sinking funds by purchasing bonds of any county or municipality of this state, bonds of the state of Mississippi, or bonds issued by authority of the United States government; except drainage district bonds. Provided, however, that the bonds so purchased shall mature prior to the time when the bonds payable out of the sinking fund hereunder shall fall due.

Sec. 14. When the commission authorizes any municipality to issue bonds under the provisions of this act, the commission shall find and determine the total amount of bonds to be issued. It shall fix the maturity dates of said bonds consistent with the provisions of this act. It shall determine the amount of taxes necessary to be levied and collected annually to retire the bonds and pay interest coupons and to create a sinking fund for the payment of said bonds and interest so that the annual tax levy shall be uniform throughout the period for which the bonds are issued. It shall require the municipality to report annually to the commission payments made on said bonds and on interest, with the dates of payments, and to report the amount passed to the sinking fund, together with a list and amount of the bonds remaining outstanding for purposes of this act, and a failure so to do shall make the members of the governing board guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable accordingly. All of said reports shall be permanent public records of the commission.

Sec. 15. Any municipality may use any sinking fund, reserve fund, or surplus fund to purchase any bond hereunder issued, and shall cancel and retire the same when, in the judgment of the governing authorities of such municipality, the interest of such municipality will be subserved thereby. Any surplus income from said enterprise arising through its operation or from its disposition, accruing to the municipality over and above the amount necessary to pay for repairs, replacements, bonds herein authorized which may be issued and interest thereon, may be applied by the governing board of the municipality upon any of the other outstanding debts or obligations of the municipality.

Sec. 16. In the case any municipality shall have initiated any such industry, and thereafter said municipality lacks the requisite funds for completion by reason of emergency which was wholly unforeseen, then upon the approval of the commission, upon the same terms and conditions as herein set forth, additional bonds may be authorized.

Sec. 17. All bonds issued pursuant to this act and all interest thereon or income therefrom shall be exempt from all taxation except gift and inheritance taxes. Necessary taxes levied and collected for the payment of these bonds and interest thereon shall not be considered or accounted in any limitation on the powers of the municipality to tax except as otherwise herein provided.

Said bonds shall be sold by the governing authority of the municipality at not less than par and accrued interest at public sale held after notice of such sale published at least one time at least five days before such sale in a newspaper of general circulation in the municipality.

Sec. 18. That the several municipalities, when and to the extent authorized by said commission pursuant hereto, are hereby authorized and empowered, if they so desire, by and through their governing board, to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such industrial enterprise or enterprises, in whole or in part, on such terms and conditions and with such safeguards as will best promote and protect the public interest, and are authorized, acting with the approval of said commission, by and through their respective governing boards, to transfer title or possession to said industry or to any property utilized therein, by warranty deed, lease, bill of sale, contract or other customary business instrument, in the same manner and to the same extent, when so thus authorized by said commission, that any private corporation, association, or person may now contract, with reference to such property of a similar nature, provided that such disposition shall not be made except by the affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of the members elected to the governing body of such municipality, and all votes shall be of record. All income from any lease or contract for the operation or from the disposition of said industrial enterprise shall be paid into the bond sinking fund provided for the bonds issued under the provisions of this act for the retirement of said bonds and the interest thereon, and such income or proceeds shall not be used by the municipality for any other purpose except as to disposition of surplus income authorized above, and shall be subject to all of the provisions hereof relative to said sinking fund.

SEC. 19. All new factories and new enterprises of public utility hereafter established under the provisions of this act or otherwise hereafter established as hereinafter enumerated shall be exempt from all ad valorem taxation on tangible property used in or necessary to the operation of the service or industry hereinafter named, but not upon the products thereof, for a period of five (5) years, the time of such exemption to commence from the commencement of work for the construction of said factory or enterprise. The new factories and enterprises of public utility which are exempted from taxation under the provisions of this section are enumerated as and limited to:

All factories making cotton goods; all woolen mills; all knitting factories; all factories for making hosiery; all rope factories; all factories for manufacturing machinery and farming implements in a finished state for consumer use without additional process of labor; all factories for making automobiles, automobile tires, tubes, or automobile tire fabrics, stoves, wagons, buggies, clothing, shoes, or parts thereof; all factories for making furniture, fixtures, utensils, or implements of either wood or metal or other materials for use in homes, hotels, schools, or offices; all coffin factories; all factories for making cement, building tile, drain tile, brick, clay products, or products in which sand and clay are used; all factories for making glass or glass products; all wood-veneering plants; all creosoting plants; all wood pulp plants making wood pulp used in the manufacture of paper, pasteboard, and like products; all factories for making paper or paper products out of wood pulp, cotton stalks, or other material; wood reduction plants engaged in the business of extracting resin, turpentine, pine oil, and like products from wood pulp and/or refuse; all factories for making soap or chemicals; all creameries, cheese factories, milk-condensing plants; all pork-packing and cold-storage factories or plants; all factories for canning, packing, or preserving food other than beverages; all pecan shelling, hulling, and/or packing plants or factories; all tanneries and all factories for making leather products; all factories run exclusively by water power; factories manufacturing cotton fibre from cottonseed hulls and linters, pure cellulose, or high alpha cellulose from cottonseed hulls and linters; oil mills; and factories grinding agricultural feeds and making mixed feeds for livestock from agricultural products; garment factories, shipyards for the construction of boats, vessels, and other water craft; all factories for the construction or repair of aeroplanes, or other aircraft; all factories for the extraction or manufacture of tung oil; paint factories; all factories for making silk goods or silk products; any manufacturing plant manufacturing food products from domestic fats and oils; manufacturing plants which prepare building material out of stone; and syrup refineries.

SEC. 20. Any port commission or authority created by law, operating in any county or municipality of this state is authorized and empowered to assist and cooperate with such county or municipality to effectuate the purposes of this act.

SEC. 21. The provisions of this act shall not repeal or impair any law now in effect, but shall exist as a separate several, independent additional and cumulative method for giving to the people of Mississippi the fulfillment of the public policy of balancing agriculture with industry, as herein provided. Nor shall this act or any part thereof repeal any of the provisions of private or special municipal charters, nor affect, limit, or restrict the right of any municipality now operating under special charter to amend said charter pursuant to the provisions of section 2625, code of 1930, which section shall apply to this act.

SEC. 22. That if any section, paragraph, clause or sentence of this act be declared to be unconstitutional by any court of competent jurisdiction, such adjudication shall not in any wise affect the other provisions of this act, but the same shall remain in full force and effect.

SEC. 23. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved September 19, 1936.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. NAOMI HANE, OF SHAMOKIN DAM, PA.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness will be Mrs. Naomi Hane.

Mr. CURTIS. You are Naomi Hane?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you married and have a 3-year-old son?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was the last permanent residence of you and your husband and son?

Mrs. HANE. At Shamokin Dam, Pa.

Mr. CURTIS. And by whom are you employed there?

Mrs. HANE. By the H. G. Bob Company.

Mr. CURTIS. And they manufacture shirts?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir; dress shirts.

Mr. CURTIS. Both of you were employed?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. And you had a nursemaid to take care of the son?

Mrs. HANE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What were your husband's wages, approximately?

Mrs. HANE. You mean at the time he lost his job?

Mr. CURTIS. When he had regular employment.

Mrs. HANE. Well, the past 2 years he had been making $24 a week, but at the time the N. R. A., before the N. R. A., he was making $9 a week on a cutting job.

Mr. CURTIS. But the last months that he had regular employment?

Mrs. HANE. $24.

Mr. CURTIS. And how much were you paid?

Mrs. HANE. Well, I really cannot give you an estimate, approximately, because we did not work very steadily, but around $11.

Mr. CURTIS. You were paid by the hour?

Mrs. HANE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, when did this permanent employment cease?

Mrs. HANE. In November of 1939.

Mr. CURTIS. November of 1939?

Mrs. HANE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And what was the occasion of that?

Mrs. HANE. They moved to the South.

Mr. CURTIS. The factory moved?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know what the reason was for the factory moving?

Mrs. HANE. Well, they promised them if they would come down there, there would not be any taxes and there would be cheaper labor.

Mr. CURTIS. Did they use T. V. A. electricity? Was that an inducement?

Mrs. HANE. I am not sure as to the power.

Mr. CURTIS. Was that an inducement to go down there?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir. They even built the factory for them, and if they would stay there for 5 years, they said they would give the factory to them.

Mr. CURTIS. Who would do that?

Mrs. HANE. The South.

Mr. CURTIS. Some community in Mississippi?

Mrs. HANE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know the name of the town that they went to?

Mrs. HANE. They went to Natchez, Miss.

Mr. CURTIS. About how many people were working in that same factory?

Mrs. HANE. 750.

Mr. CURTIS. Did many of them accompany the factory down there?

Mrs. HANE. Only one forelady and two foremen.

Mr. CURTIS. But the ordinary workers?

Mrs. HANE. None.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, at the time your employment ceased, you were buying a home up there?

Mrs. HANE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you lost it now?

Mrs. HANE. Not yet.

Mr. CURTIS. How many States have you been in since that time, looking for work?

Mrs. HANE. New Jersey, and Baltimore, Md., and all over Pennsylvania.

Mr. CURTIS. And when did you come to New York City?

Mrs. HANE. Yesterday morning.

Mr. CURTIS. You came up as a witness; you are not residing here now?

Mrs. HANE. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you travel in visiting these different parts?

Mrs. HANE. By car.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you own a car?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of a car is it?

Mrs. HANE. A Chevrolet.

Mr. CURTIS. How old is it?

Mrs. HANE. It is about a 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you take your boy along with you?

Mrs. HANE. Most of the time I did. Sometimes we left him with his grandmother.

Mr. CURTIS. Did anyone else start out with you?

Mrs. HANE. Yes; we took up another couple along so that it would not cost so much, the expenses.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you just start out and drive, and make inquiries at the factories and other places, or did you have any particular place to go?

Mrs. HANE. We just started out. Wherever we saw a smokestack we stopped, wherever we saw one.

Mr. CURTIS. How far have you driven, do you know, approximately?

Mrs. HANE. Hundreds of miles, and I mean hundreds, too.

Mr. CURTIS. And you have not been successful?

Mrs. Hane. No.

Mr. Curtis. Right now your husband is where?

Mrs. Hane. You mean is he employed?

Mr. Curtis. Yes.

Mrs. Hane. He is unemployed.

Mr. Curtis. Has he had any work of any kind?

Mrs. Hane. He is helping his father with the harvest right now.

Mr. Curtis. That is not on the basis of wages, is it?

Mrs. Hane. No wages.

Mr. Curtis. You intend to take some produce from the farm?

Mrs. Hane. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Have you had any work at all since then?

Mrs. Hane. House cleaning, a day or so a week.

Mr. Curtis. What would that pay you?

Mrs. Hane. $1 a day, and sometimes $1.25, depending on how long I stayed.

Mr. Curtis. Now, do you know, in a general way—I realize that you never kept any record—but of these 750 people whose employment all stopped at the same time, how many of them scattered out across State lines and elsewhere, seeking work?

Mrs. Hane. Well, there have been quite a few. There have been only 20 percent found work in the surrounding towns, and the rest are on relief and looking for work.

Mr. Curtis. How many of them have just started out to drive?

Mrs. Hane. Well, I could not tell you; quite a few that I know of.

Mr. Curtis. You people have claimed this town in Pennsylvania as your residence?

Mrs. Hane. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And if your searches do not bear fruit, you expect to go back there?

Mrs. Hane. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Where is your father-in-law's farm? Is it near there?

Mrs. Hane. Yes, sir. It is located about 3 miles from the town of Shamokin Dam, in Snyder County.

Mr. Curtis. And are your parents living?

Mrs. Hane. My mother.

Mr. Curtis. Is she in Pennsylvania?

Mrs. Hane. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Is she living there now?

Mrs. Hane. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. That is all.

The Chairman. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Sparkman. I would like to ask her a question or two in order to clear up this matter. Mrs. Hane, you may have stated the name of the company, but if so I did not catch it.

Mrs. Hane. H. D. Bob Co.

Mr. Sparkman. That was a shirt-manufacturing company?

Mrs. Hane. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. At Sunbury, Pa.

Mrs. Hane. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, Mrs. Hane, you made one statement—I don't care about arguing with you, but nevertheless I believe the record should show—you said something about the cheaper labor.

As a matter of fact, I believe you know that the wages and hours law gives a minimum wage for shirt workers.

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir. Well, I did not have any steady work. I did not have steady work when I drew those low wages.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was not talking about that. You said the reason the factory went down there, that that was one of the reasons, and also cheap power, and Mr. Curtis asked you if it was using T. V. A. power. And now I am not certain, but I believe that Natchez is not within the T. V. A. territory.

Mrs. HANE. I told him I did not know.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know you did, but I just wanted the record to show that. I do not believe it is within that territory. That is all.

Mr. OSMERS. What were you being paid when you were last employed in the shirt factory?

Mrs. HANE. About 35 cents an hour.

Mr. OSMERS. 35 cents an hour?

Mrs. HANE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is, I believe, 10 percent in excess, under the minimum in the law; is it not—the minimum wage under the law is 25 cents.

Mr. SPARKMAN. No; it is 32.5 cents. Mrs. Hane, when you were working, were you paid by the piece?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were doing piece work?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And your earnings approximated 35 cents an hour?

Mrs. HANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much, Mrs. Hane.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. REBECCA COLE, OF NEW YORK CITY

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness will be Mrs. Cole.

Mr. OSMERS. What is your name?

Mrs. COLE. Rebecca Cole.

Mr. OSMERS. Where were you born, Mrs. Cole?

Mrs. COLE. Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. OSMERS. And in what year?

Mrs. COLE. 1902.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you attend school in Memphis?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And how far did you get in school?

Mrs. COLE. The seventh grade.

Mr. OSMERS. The seventh grade?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. That is in grade school?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. How old were you when you earned your first dollar?

Mrs. COLE. Ten years old.

Mr. OSMERS. What did you do?

Mrs. COLE. I was a nurse maid.

Mr. OSMERS. And how long did you work at that?

Mrs. COLE. Well, I don't know just exactly; I was going to school, and I would take the children out in the mornings and evenings.

Mr. Osmers. Let me put it this way: After you got a little older, what kind of work did you do?

Mrs. Cole. Well, domestic cleaning.

Mr. Osmers. Are you married?

Mrs. Cole. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. How long have you been married?

Mrs. Cole. Twenty-one years.

Mr. Osmers. How old were you when you got married?

Mrs. Cole. Seventeen.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have any children?

Mrs. Cole. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. How many?

Mrs. Cole. Twelve.

Mr. Osmers. How many?

The Chairman. Only 12!

Mrs. Cole. That is all.

Mr. Osmers. She is a young woman, Mr. Chairman.

Where was your husband born?

Mrs. Cole. He was born in Covington, Tenn.

Mr. Osmers. Did he go to school there?

Mrs. Cole. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. What was he doing when you were married?

Mrs. Cole. He was a janitor.

Mr. Osmers. How much was he being paid?

Mrs. Cole. He was being paid $40 a month.

Mr. Osmers. How long did he work after you were married?

Mrs. Cole. He worked for about 2 years.

Mr. Osmers. And then what did he do from then on?

Mrs. Cole. He worked a while at the Standard Oil.

Mr. Osmers. How much was he paid there?

Mrs. Cole. $18 a week.

Mr. Osmers. And then what did he do?

Mrs. Cole. Then he took over another janitor's job.

Mr. Osmers. How much did he make on that job?

Mrs. Cole. Well, he made about $50 a month.

Mr. Osmers. Those figures as janitor, are they in addition to an apartment, I presume you were given living quarters, or did you have to maintain your own home away from there?

Mrs. Cole. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. You had to rent your own home?

Mrs. Cole. Yes.

Mr. Osmers. And then what did you do after the $50 a month job?

Mrs. Cole. Well, it seemed we lost everything. My husband worked at an apartment hotel for $4 a week for a while, and then we went on and on, and after a while we did not have anything. And then after I came up here at the time of the high water—in 1936 or 1937—he worked on the levee there for a while. That was the last job he had. He did not receive any pay for 2 weeks that he worked on the levee.

Mr. Osmers. When did you come to New York?

Mrs. Cole. In 1936.

Mr. Osmers. Would you tell the committee what the circumstances were of your coming here? Did you separate from your family, or did you come alone?

Mrs. COLE. Yes; my sister sent for me. We had gotten in pretty bad condition, and she sent for me and she told me maybe I could get a job up here. She was quite sure I could, and so she sent for me, and I came up here and I got a job the next week, and I worked there.

Mr. OSMERS. I suppose while you were here your family was broken up down there?

Mrs. COLE. Yes; after the high water they had to move, and the children were with two friends; my husband was living in a basement with a friend who was a janitor.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, how long was it after you got here that your husband followed you to New York?

Mrs. COLE. It was 6 months.

Mr. OSMERS. Did he bring all of the family with him?

Mrs. COLE. Yes, they all came together.

Mr. OSMERS. And what has your husband been doing since he got here?

Mrs. COLE. He has been doing janitor work since he got here.

Mr. OSMERS. Did he find work immediately after he came, or were you forced to go on relief?

Mrs. COLE. Well, he found work in about 2 months after he came; over in Brooklyn, N. Y., and he worked off and on at that same job until here in March.

Mr. OSMERS. That is March of this year?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, were any of your children born after you came to New York?

Mrs. COLE. Yes; I have twins born in 1938, and one child born in 1939.

Mr. OSMERS. And where were they born in New York?

Mrs. COLE. At the Harlem Hospital.

Mr. OSMERS. That is a public institution?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And did you receive relief after they were born?

Mrs. COLE. Yes; after the twins were born in 1939.

Mr. OSMERS. Is that nonsettled or home relief?

Mrs. COLE. Nonsettlement.

Mr. OSMERS. How is it that it is nonsettlement relief?

Mrs. COLE. Well, the investigator said that I had used the city's funds before I was here a year in the city of New York. I had lived a year in Brooklyn before moving to New York.

Mr. OSMERS. I see. And then you had to be here a year or you would not be a citizen of New York; you had to be here a year without receiving public assistance?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, are you interested in going back to Tennessee with the whole family, or is anyone in your family anxious to go back to Tennessee?

Mrs. COLE. No.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you tell the committee why you are not interested in that?

Mrs. COLE. Well, we could not get employment, and when we did get it, it was not sufficient, and the children—it is so bad for the children there, too. And my older girl, she was to graduate in 1936, that was the year that I came up here, and she went to high school here and it was just almost like she had never been to high school; she had to take 2 years' study before she could graduate.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean to say that there is a difference between the educational standards in Tennessee and the educational standards in New York City?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And you feel that they are better off in New York City, and that you would like to have your children have those advantages?

Mrs. COLE. Yes, I would.

Mr. OSMERS. Aside from education, are there any other advantages that you would like to give your children that may be available here?

Mrs. COLE. Yes, I should like to have them get an education and be able to be self-supporting. It would be much better than going without everything.

Mr. OSMERS. You people are on relief now.

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Does your husband look for work?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. For what kind of work does he look? Is he able-bodied, and healthy, and strong?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He had 12 children, did he not?

Mrs. COLE. Yes. He is looking for work; he has been out of work since March, but today he has gone to an interview.

Mr. OSMERS. This very day he went to an interview?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. And how long since you have found work?

Mrs. COLE. I have not found any. I did not do any since 1939.

Mr. OSMERS. And you were working as a domestic and gave up that job when you were having a child?

Mrs. COLE. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. And I suppose now that your main occupation is taking care of those 12 children?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. I think, Mr. Chairman, that that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they all living?

Mrs. COLE. Yes.

Mr. OSMERS. Did your husband ever live in southern Illinois?

Mrs. COLE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to ask you a question.

Do you find in corresponding with colored people in Tennessee and talking to them, that their feeling is more or less like your own, that they would all like to move up here to New York where they could get better educational facilities; do most of the people feel that way down there?

Mrs. COLE. Well, I do not hear them talking like that. I never had any conversation with them in that manner, because I did not really know about it myself until I was here. I did not think about it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would not trade New York for Tennessee; is that the idea?

Mrs. Cole. No, I would not.

The Chairman. You have got a good mayor here; is that the reason?

Mrs. Cole. I think that that is right.

The Chairman. I think that that is all, Mrs. Cole. Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF JAMES SOULOTIS, OF NEW YORK CITY

The Chairman. We would like to call Mr. Soulotis.

Mr. Parsons. What is your name, please?

Mr. Soulotis. My name is James Soulotis.

Mr. Parsons. Where were you born?

Mr. Soulotis. I was born in Greece; the place where I was born belonged before to Turkey, and that belongs to Greece now.

Mr. Parsons. And when did you come to this country?

Mr. Soulotis. I came in 1909.

Mr. Parsons. At what age?

Mr. Soulotis. About 27 years old.

Mr. Parsons. Are you a naturalized citizen now?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. When did you finish your naturalization? What year did you become a citizen?

Mr. Soulotis. In 1926, it was.

Mr. Parsons. So you had been in this country a good many years before you finished your citizenship papers?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. What education did you receive in Greece?

Mr. Soulotis. I am a harness maker.

Mr. Parsons. That was the trade you learned from youth?

Mr. Soulotis. From a small kid, yes, sir; up to 17 years old.

Mr. Parsons. I assume that they had the caste system there; that you followed the occupation or vocation of your parents?

Mr. Soulotis. I learned that trade from my parents, and then I went to Egypt.

Mr. Parsons. And then came from Egypt to the United States?

Mr. Soulotis. No, I came from Greece, and I lived in Egypt about 7 or 8 years.

Mr. Parsons. Are you married?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do you have any children?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many?

Mr. Soulotis. One boy and two girls.

Mr. Parsons. What are their ages; how old are they?

Mr. Soulotis. The boy is now 20 years old.

Mr. Parsons. How old is the girl?

Mr. Soulotis. The girls are 19 and 16.

Mr. Parsons. Where did you go to in the United States when you came here, and how long did you live there?

Mr. Soulotis. I lived in New York here.

Mr. Parsons. I mean when you first came here.

Mr. Soulotis. That is right, New York.

Mr. Parsons. You came to New York?

Mr. Soulotis. To New York; yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And you lived here about how long?

Mr. Soulotis. Twenty-one years.

Mr. Parsons. And then where did you go?

Mr. Soulotis. To South Bethlehem, Pa., and I worked at the steel works; in the Bethlehem Steel Works there.

Mr. Parsons. Were you fitted as a skilled man in the steel works, or did you learn that in Bethlehem?

Mr. Soulotis. I just went to work there; I liked the work and I came there to work, and I went to work in the open hearth.

Mr. Parsons. Were your wages per day or month; and how much? What did you receive?

Mr. Soulotis. At that time I used to get $1.42 a day.

Mr. Parsons. For open-hearth work?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes; that was open-hearth work.

Mr. Parsons. How long did you work in the steel plant?

Mr. Soulotis. I worked there about a year and a half and then I went into business.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of business did you own?

Mr. Soulotis. The first time I started one of these stands in town over there, a little fruit stand.

Mr. Parsons. How long did you follow that?

Mr. Soulotis. I stayed with the fruit stand for a year and a half.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you make during that time?

Mr. Soulotis. I used to make very good; I used to make $45 a week clear money, and then I had two people come to me and they wanted to buy my business, and one of them came after me and I sold the business.

Mr. Parsons. Was he of your nationality?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes, the same. I sold the stand to these people for $700, and I went into the restaurant business. I opened a restaurant business out there, close to the Bethlehem main office, and I called the restaurant the Star Restaurant. I kept the place from 1912 to 1920.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you make annually out of that?

Mr. Soulotis. Well, at that time, in the wartime there was a good deal of business, but I had a partner, too, who was envious of me.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you make for yourself and your family during the time that you were in the restaurant business?

Mr. Soulotis. I was single at that time. Each man would make $500 clear money, or a total of $1,000 a month, divided half and half.

Mr. Parsons. Was that clear money?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Around $450 to $500 a month?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes; each man. After a while my partner wanted to buy me out, and I did not want to sell the place, because at the time when I started I put more money in the store than he did. After that I bought him out and I paid him about $1,500, and he went out, and I kept the place.

Mr. Parsons. You bought him out for $1,500 when he was making $400 or $500 a month clear?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. He sold it to you for $1,500?

Mr. Soulotis. Well, because I put more money in the store than he did.

Mr. Parsons. You owned more than one-half of the business?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes; he did not want to be with me, and he said, "How much will you give me?" And he had two brothers and he wanted to go over to New York. So I bought him out and paid him $1,500, and then I operated it myself.

Mr. Parsons. How long did you operate it yourself?

Mr. Soulotis. Then I kept the place about 1 year, to 1916, and after that I changed the business. I had the same place but I transferred the place to a candy store.

Mr. Parsons. You converted your restaurant business into a candy store?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes; because the business was not so good. It was slow and I could not get helpers over there. It was wartime, and they made more money in the steel mill, and I had to bring people from New York, such as cooks and helpers, and they would work 1 week and then go into the factories. That's why I changed the business, and it was easier, and I did not need so many workers.

Mr. Parsons. You sold this business in 1916, and now how much money were you making at that time; say, in 1915 and 1916 up to the time that you sold it?

Mr. Soulotis. Well, I did not make so much from it any more.

Mr. Parsons. Were you making $300 or $400 a month clear?

Mr. Soulotis. No; I did not make it because I paid it all out at that time. I had to pay cooks $60 a week and I had to pay for the dishwashing at the rate of $85 a month, and I kept the house upstairs, and I had my laundry and it was all very expensive, and it was for that reason that I changed the business.

Mr. Parsons. So you turned it into a candy business?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How long did you run the candy business?

Mr. Soulotis. Until 1920.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you make annually after that?

Mr. Soulotis. I did not make very much; of course, after 1917 I was married, and after the war was over, the people did not work at Bethlehem—the town would be empty at times; all of the people used to leave the town, and I did not make much business. Then I sold the business.

Mr. Parsons. What did you receive for it when you sold it?

Mr. Soulotis. I sold the business and I went to Wilmington, Del.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you get for it when you sold it?

Mr. Soulotis. $3,500.

Mr. Parsons. How much had you saved up during that time out of the business that you had been running?

Mr. Soulotis. My cash money—I used to have about $700 or $800, and also what I got when I sold the business.

Mr. Parsons. What were you doing with your money when you were making $400 or $500 a month; what were you doing with your money when you were making that much money?

Mr. Soulotis. At that time I put up the candy store and I spent $3,500 for new fixtures, and as soon as I spent my money the business went down and I did not collect any, and for that reason, I sold the business.

Mr. Parsons. You did not send any money back to Greece?

Mr. Soulotis. No; I did not have anybody back there. I went to Wilmington, Del., and I started a fruit and vegetable business over there. but my wife's brother was with me; I brought him over from the other side, and the first year I did a very good business over there, very nice, and after that, my wife's brother became crazy; he lost his mind and he is still here, now, up in Beacon, N. Y.; he has been there about 10 years.

Mr. Parsons. Where is he?

Mr. Soulotis. He is in Beacon.

Mr. Parsons. Is he in an institution, some State institution?

Mr. Soulotis. In the State institution, and I spent lots of money for that boy, to get him doctors, from Philadelphia, and specialists, and he made me broke, and I used up all of my capital, and I cannot make the business go. Then my wife, she wanted me to quit; she was discouraged; she said that she brought her brother here and he lost his mind, and he would die, and she got very sick over it.

Mr. Parsons. Did you sell out the business in Wilmington?

Mr. Soulotis. No; I left it.

Mr. Parsons. You just left it?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes; I just left it.

Mr. Parsons. Where did you go to then?

Mr. Soulotis. After that I started to work for somebody over there in Wilmington, and after that a friend of mine came to me and he wanted to do some business with me. He said he had some money, but he did not know the business, and he trusted me, and he would take me in with him, and we would do business together.

We went back to Bethlehem in 1925, and he got some empty lots from the State, and he built a place, and he spent about $150. We had a lease on it, and in a short time we had the business going all right, but the Bethlehem Steel Co. does not work very steadily, and they do not have very many jobs over there, and the people do not have the money, and there was no business, so I cannot get anything as a profit to make money. I soon found that out, and I quit because I could not make anything. I was going to leave, and then I found a job at the university college, where I did the cooking. I had about 50 boys there.

Mr. Parsons. How much did that pay you?

Mr. Soulotis. I used to make over there about $180 a month, but I have got to pay the men who are my helpers. I pay $60 for them, and that made $120 a month on the job.

At that time my wife got sick, and she went to the hospital. That was in the summertime, you know, and we had a lot of trouble.

Mr. Parsons. And then, where did you go from Bethlehem?

Mr. Soulotis. After that I went to Somerville, in New Jersey, but after that I lost that job. They gave a contract to a company that arranged to take in about 15 or 20 houses at a time, and they have breakfast and dinner and supper at $5 a week. The boys felt that they could not put up any more money for all of that, and so they got this contract, and they shoot the stuff over there. They can cook for 10 or 15 houses, and that is the reason that I lost out.

Mr. Parsons. Were those people that were living in these houses, were they in a sort of summer home?

Mr. Soulotis. It was right in a college; they have 60 or 70 houses; all the boys used to live together; that is the houses, you know, where the freshmen came and the new boys who came to the college, all of the members built houses all of the time over there, 50 or 60 houses.

Mr. Parsons. After you were out of that work, did you go into business again as a fruit vendor in New Jersey?

Mr. Soulotis. After that I worked in the city over there.

Mr. Parsons. What were your wages there; how much did you make?

Mr. Soulotis. Well, in the city I used to make $6 or $7, and sometimes $8, and sometimes it is like piecework.

Mr. Parsons. Then where did you go from there?

Mr. Soulotis. After that I quit. They changed the mayor over there and we lost out.

Mr. Parsons. You had a political job and that let you out?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes, and the new mayor came in and he got new people over there.

Mr. Parsons. Then what did you do?

Mr. Soulotis. Then I got a job from a Dr. Ester over there, and I worked for him a short time. After that I went to Somerville, N. J., and I got placed over there. There is a friend of mine who has a little store over there, and he wanted to go into the fruit business, and he said he would give me a place there, but at the time I did not have any money. But he gave me credit for my work and my pay, you see.

Then I went first myself over there, you know; for some months I tried it and it was good. He paid me good money, and after that I brought my family over there, and at the first it was all right. But in 1932 there was a big depression in the resort. Before that there was no depression over there at all, but now the town was like it was dead, and where I made $40 before, it went down to $4 or $5 a day, and I worried too much; it was my hard luck, and I got sick, and I came here to New York and I spent about 10 or 11 months in the hospital.

Mr. Parsons. How did you happen to come to New York?

Mr. Soulotis. To come here?

Mr. Parsons. Yes. Why did you come to New York?

Mr. Soulotis. I came between 1933 and 1934.

Mr. Parsons. But why did you come?

Mr. Soulotis. Well, because I was broke over there at Somerville, and I lost all of my business, and I did not have any money.

Mr. Parsons. Did the city propose to take care of you here? Is that the reason you came to New York?

Mr. Soulotis. I took a chance here in a big city. Maybe I thought I would find work, and I took a chance because I could not go back there.

Mr. Parsons. Did you have any relatives or friends here in New York City?

Mr. Soulotis. I have plenty of friends but they are all broke; everybody is in the same condition.

Mr. Parsons. What did you do when you came to New York City?

Mr. Soulotis. I came here, and I was sick here. I was very weak and the people who took care of me were at the Federal office, at

220 Twenty-third Street, and they took care of me for about 2 years.

Mr. PARSONS. Who paid the expenses of that?

Mr. SOULOTIS. He paid for it.

Mr. PARSONS. Who did that?

Mr. SOULOTIS. The Federal office; they used to pay my rent at the house and for myself.

Mr. PARSONS. And you had applied for relief here in New York and they paid your hospital expenses?

Mr. SOULOTIS. No.

Mr. PARSONS. What agency paid your hospital expenses?

Mr. SOULOTIS. My expenses—I came from Somerville over to here, and I came over here and went to the dispensary, and I used to go every week and the doctors took care of me; I was very bad and I had two operations.

Mr. PARSONS. Who paid for that?

Mr. SOULOTIS. I do not know. I don't know who paid that. All I know is I did not pay it, I do not know who paid it.

Mr. PARSONS. Was it some kind of relief agency that sent you to the hospital?

Mr. SOULOTIS. No; I went by myself to the hospital.

Mr. PARSONS. You don't know who paid for your hospital expenses?

Mr. SOULOTIS. Nobody paid, I guess nobody paid.

Mr. PARSONS. Was it a city hospital?

Mr. SOULOTIS. Roosevelt Hospital.

Mr. PARSONS. Why did you not go back to Bethlehem when they wanted you to go back there?

Mr. SOULOTIS. They wanted to send me to the poor home, to separate me from my children, and I am a strong man yet, and I did not want to go over there and die over there; I refused to go over there and then I went to New York. I came to New York and I took a chance here, and maybe I thought I would get work, but I have not been able to get anything. All of the unions have everything.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you able to provide anything for your family after you got well, after your sickness and you got out of the hospital?

Mr. SOULOTIS. Well, I went back to Somerville and the city over there, you know—but the law in New Jersey states that, if you do not live there for 5 years, they cannot take care of you, and I did not live 5 years over there.

Mr. PARSONS. Have your children been able to find employment in New York, have your children been able to work here in New York and make any money?

Mr. SOULOTIS. Now?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. SOULOTIS. One is working in Columbia University, he is working in the library and running the evening school there.

Mr. PARSONS. What are the others doing?

Mr. SOULOTIS. I have two daughters. One is going to school yet and the other is finishing high school. The larger girl, she looked for a job and she cannot find any job no place, and the home relief here, they say they are going to give me a job. All the time I am asking for a job, they say they give me a job here but I do not get one. He said that he cannot get me a job in the home relief, in the W. P. A., and I cannot get any other work myself.

Mr. Parsons. Have you been on relief ever since you came to New York in 1934?

Mr. Soulotis. I came to the office, the Federal office for 2 years.

Mr. Parsons. That is when the Federal Government was contributing to the States?

Mr. Soulotis. After that the Federal office put me on home relief.

Mr. Parsons. You never did work on W. P. A.?

Mr. Soulotis. No; they did not give me a job because at that time I had the examination by the doctors, and they found something wrong, and they rejected me.

Mr. Parsons. Are you receiving relief now?

Mr. Soulotis. I now get only the rent, but the home relief I get. I do not get any more because my boy is working, and I peddle sometimes in the streets, and sell something and make 50 cents a day, and I do not go every day, just sometimes.

Mr. Parsons. Do you try to find any private employment?

Mr. Soulotis. Well, I try to get a job, you know, but I cannot do any pick-and-shovel work, the kind of job I do, because I have my kidney stones.

Mr. Parsons. You know the fruit-vending business, do you not?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes; I know that business.

Mr. Parsons. You know that as well as anybody.

Mr. Soulotis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Have you ever thought about, or tried to get you a stand here in New York City to vend fruit?

Mr. Soulotis. I know that job, that is my trade.

Mr. Parsons. Well, have you sought to open a stand here in New York as a fruit vender?

Mr. Soulotis. I would if I had money enough.

Mr. Parsons. How much money would it take to start that kind of a business?

Mr. Soulotis. $200 to start a place, just to sell a few fruits, just enough to make a living.

Mr. Parsons. Well, back in the old relief days, the Federal Government, through the State corporations that they organized in several if not all of the States, lent money for that purpose, and it would seem to me that if you were acquainted with the relief agencies here and if they were familiar with your background, and having had the experience that you have had in the fruit-vending business, that they might aid and assist you in getting on your feet again.

Mr. Soulotis. Well, that is all I am good at. I do not have the capital to start anything, and if I start something and I make good, my son is grown and he will be glad to help me out.

Mr. Parsons. So you are only receiving a sufficient amount of relief now to pay your rent?

Mr. Soulotis. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How much is that per month?

Mr. Soulotis. It is $37.60 per month.

Mr. Parsons. They pay that to you by check?

Mr. Soulotis. By check, yes, sir; every 2 weeks.

Mr. Parsons. Every 2 weeks you get half of that?

Mr. SOULOTIS. And I pay the rent.

Mr. PARSONS. And how much is your house rent?

Mr. SOULOTIS. Thirty-three dollars a month, and I pay the electricity, the gas, and my insurance, and all of that money, and my boy gives me $30 to buy groceries with, and with that I manage to make out with what I earn myself, sometimes 50 or 60 cents a day.

Mr. PARSONS. You do?

Mr. SOULOTIS. Not every day, but I go every week, about 3 or 4 days—about that many days a week I go out and I make 50 or 60 cents a day.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you peddle?

Mr. SOULOTIS. I peddle fruits on Broadway.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you peddle them out of, a basket?

Mr. SOULOTIS. I have got a push cart. I kept the cart over there on One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and I live at One Hundred and Thirty-third Street and Amsterdam.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have to be licensed to have a vendor's place on the street?

Mr. SOULOTIS. No.

Mr. PARSONS. You do not have to pay a license to vend fruit there?

Mr. SOULOTIS. No; but I get arrested every once in a while, and I have got to pay a $2 fine.

Mr. PARSONS. Can you not obtain a permit from the city here?

Mr. SOULOTIS. I asked for one.

Mr. PARSONS. For the purpose of conducting a fruit business?

Mr. SOULOTIS. I asked so many times, and they say they do not know.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(The hearing then adjourned at 6 o'clock, to reconvene again the following morning at 10 a. m.)

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., in the Federal Court Building, New York, N. Y., pursuant to adjournment, Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman), presiding.

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; James S. Owens, chief field investigator; Ariel E. V. Dunn, field investigator; Edward J. Rowell, field investigator; Henry H. Collins, Jr., field investigator; and Alice Tuohy, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JANE MAXWELL, OF NEW YORK CITY

The Chairman. What is your name?

Mrs. Maxwell. Mrs. Jane Maxwell.

The Chairman. Where do you live?

Mrs. Maxwell. 27 West One hundred and twenty-seventh Street.

The Chairman. Is that in New York City?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. And where were you born?

Mrs. Maxwell. Savannah, Ga.

The Chairman. When?

Mrs. Maxwell. I was born in 1916.

The Chairman. How long did you live there?

Mrs. Maxwell. I lived there until I came up here.

The Chairman. And when did you come up here?

Mrs. Maxwell. In 1937.

The Chairman. Are you married?

Mrs. Maxwell. I was.

The Chairman. When were you married?

Mrs. Maxwell. In 1932, in Savannah.

The Chairman. Have you any children?

Mrs. Maxwell. One.

The Chairman. A boy?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes.

The Chairman. How old is he now?

Mrs. Maxwell. Seven.

The Chairman. Where is he?

Mrs. MAXWELL. He is right here with me.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do? Did you do any work there?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of work?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Housework.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you receive for that work?

Mrs. MAXWELL. When I first started working, I received $1.25 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you had your board with that? That included your board?

Mrs. MAXWELL. No, I did not sleep there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you sleep?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I slept home.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was living with you?

Mrs. MAXWELL. My mother. I was not married then.

The CHAIRMAN. How old were you then?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I was around 12 or 13, I guess.

The CHAIRMAN. After that what did you do there in Savannah?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I worked when I could get it.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of work?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Housework; and I did some cooking.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money would you receive?

Mrs. MAXWELL. $1.50; some places would give me $1.50.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a week?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How could you live on $1.50 a week?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Well, I do not know; that was all that I could make.

The CHAIRMAN. Your mother and father helped you?

Mrs. MAXWELL. My father was not living then.

The CHAIRMAN. Your mother would help you, then?

Mrs. MAXWELL. She was able to work then.

The CHAIRMAN. What did your husband do?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I don't know; I separated from him.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you separate?

Mrs. MAXWELL. We separated right after the kid was born, when the kid was a month old.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you separated?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you married?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And where is your husband now?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You never saw him since?

Mrs. MAXWELL. No; he went away when the kid was a month old; he was not working at the time the kid was born, and he went away, and I never heard from him since.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard from him since?

Mrs. MAXWELL. No; he was not working, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you left Savannah and came to New York, and when was that?

Mrs. MAXWELL. In 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to come to New York?

Mrs. Maxwell. I heard people say that you could get better jobs, so I came.

The Chairman. You mean, as among your friends, you heard that said?

Mrs. Maxwell. I don't know; people said so who had been here before, you know.

The Chairman. Did you have anyone from here to write to you to come to New York to get a job?

Mrs. Maxwell. No.

The Chairman. Did you come to New York alone?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes.

The Chairman. Did you have your baby with you?

Mrs. Maxwell. No.

The Chairman. At that time you left your baby with your mother?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes.

The Chairman. How did you come to New York?

Mrs. Maxwell. I came up; some man brought me up.

The Chairman. What did he charge you?

Mrs. Maxwell. I paid him some down before I left, and paid him $2.50, I think it was, I paid him the rest when I got a job. I got up here on Friday and I went to work on that Saturday.

The Chairman. You paid him $2.50 down?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes.

The Chairman. And then how much—what balance were you to pay him?

Mrs. Maxwell. For the whole thing was $17.50, and I paid him the rest when I went to work; he gave me the job.

The Chairman. That $17.50—did he agree with you that he would give you a job in New York for that?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes; he got me a job the next day. I came up here on Friday and that Saturday I went to work.

The Chairman. And when did you pay him the other $15?

Mrs. Maxwell. When I made the first month; you see, I slept there.

The Chairman. Was he a colored man?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Did he make that a business—to transport people from the South?

Mrs. Maxwell. No; but a woman told me about it; I don't know.

The Chairman. Did anyone else come with you?

Mrs. Maxwell. Well, girls; I did not know them.

The Chairman. How many girls?

Mrs. Maxwell. About eight of us, women and girls.

The Chairman. And did each of them have the same agreement that you had, that is, $17.50?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes; I guess so. They went to work and he gave them all a job.

The Chairman. And how many were in the car besides yourself?

Mrs. Maxwell. I don't know. I think about eight; I don't think but eight altogether.

The Chairman. And they were colored girls and colored women?

Mrs. Maxwell. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then after he took you to New York, did he stay here in New York?

Mrs. MAXWELL. He stayed on Eleventh Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did he make the trips right along? Did he?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I don't know. He gave me the job and I did not see him any more after he gave me a job, and he came and got his money. I never saw him any more.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not tell you that he made that his business?

Mrs. MAXWELL. He did not tell us anything. A woman was up here, and she told me that he was coming there, and that he would bring me back and get me a job.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of job did you get when you arrived in New York?

Mrs. MAXWELL. A sleeping job.

The CHAIRMAN. A sleeping job?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a job is that?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Housework.

The CHAIRMAN. And how much money did you get?

Mrs. MAXWELL. $30.

The CHAIRMAN. That is $30 a month?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you live at the place?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes; I lived right there.

The CHAIRMAN. And what did you do; just general housework?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes; housework and cleaning and washing for the kids; she had two kids.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did you hold on to that job?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I stayed there about a couple of months; she was moving to Brooklyn, this woman was.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what did you do?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I moved to Harlem.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do there?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I stayed there until I got another job. A girl who was working I knew, and she recommended me to a friend of her madam, and I got a sleeping job there.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did you get there?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I got $30 there.

The CHAIRMAN. That is $30 a month?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That included your board?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you send for your baby?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I sent for them; my mother was sick and I did not send for her right away; she was sick before I sent for her, and I left this job and I took sick; and he was sick then, too; and I could not send for her then because I was sick, then.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he come up?

Mrs. MAXWELL. He came up with my mother on the bus.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not come by the same way you did, with the taxi man?

Mrs. MAXWELL. No; they came on the bus.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your mother here with you now?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** Yes.

The **Chairman.** Are any of the rest of the family here?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** No.

The **Chairman.** What does your mother do?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** She does not do anything; she is sick.

The **Chairman.** You take care of her?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** Yes.

The **Chairman.** Have you done any other kind of work besides that sleeping work?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** I did day's work for a while. I took sick at the last job I had.

The **Chairman.** Are you working now?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** No, I am not working now.

The **Chairman.** You are on relief now?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** Yes; I went on relief after my madam went away.

The **Chairman.** Is your mother on relief, too?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** Yes.

The **Chairman.** And the three of you live together?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** Yes, sir.

The **Chairman.** How long since you have been in private employment?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** You mean working?

The **Chairman.** Working for somebody else?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** How long since I have been working, you mean?

The **Chairman.** How long have you been on relief?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** I have been on relief now, I have got three checks—about a month and a half.

The **Chairman.** And during that time, have you endeavored to secure private employment or work?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** I tried, but I could not get any. I did not have any money to pay for the job. When my madam went away, I took that and paid up the rent, and I went around to the agency and I could not get anything.

The **Chairman.** How much money are you getting now on relief?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** I get $16.85.

The **Chairman.** Is that per month?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** That is every 2 weeks.

The **Chairman.** And your mother gets the same amount, does she?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** She gets $8.

The **Chairman.** That is $8 every 2 weeks?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** Yes.

The **Chairman.** How much rent do you pay?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** We pay $5.50 a week.

The **Chairman.** It costs you about $20 a month for rent?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** No, $22 a month.

The **Chairman.** Well, are you able to live on that money?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** I make it do until I can do better; I cannot do anything else right now.

The **Chairman.** But you are trying to get your old job back?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** I am trying to get a job, a good job, you see, because you know how it is when you are not working.

The **Chairman.** So you never heard from the father of your baby since 1 month after the baby was born; is that the idea?

Mrs. **Maxwell.** That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you like New York?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I like it all right; I get along here better because you can get a job.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there people, to your knowledge, coming up from the South the way you did, coming to New York here?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I don't know about the way I came up, but many of them are coming up. I don't know how they come up.

The CHAIRMAN. Many of your colored people are coming up from the South to New York, looking for jobs?

Mrs. MAXWELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You like your conditions, your living conditions here better than you did in Savannah?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Yes, because I can make a living here and I could not make a living there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that sort of general among your people, they all have a hard time making a living?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Most of them, but some of them get a better break than others.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you about this taxi man that brought you to New York and got you a job?

Mrs. MAXWELL. A woman was talking about it, and I heard it, and it was told me about the East Side, and I lived on the West Side.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any of those taxi fellows doing that same sort of a job?

Mrs. MAXWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you written back to any of your people in Savannah that they could come up here?

Mrs. MAXWELL. I haven't written to any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the boy go to school?

Mrs. MAXWELL. He was going to school.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he going to school now?

Mrs. MAXWELL. Since he came up here he has been going to school.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you do about medical care?

Mrs. MAXWELL. We go to the clinic.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your mother still sick?

Mrs. MAXWELL. She is still sick.

The CHAIRMAN. And do any doctors come to see her?

Mrs. MAXWELL. She goes to the clinic.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much, Mrs. Maxwell.

(The witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF EDITH E. LOWRY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us your name, please?

Miss LOWRY. Edith E. Lowry, executive secretary of the Council of Women for Home Missions.

The CHAIRMAN. You are living here in New York?

Miss LOWRY. No; I reside in New Jersey, but our office is in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you a statement that you wish to present? After you have presented it, probably there will be some questions that we would like to ask, if you will present your paper first.

Miss LOWRY. Yes; I will.

SOCIAL SERVICE IN MIGRANT CAMPS

(Reading:) This statement deals with the agricultural migratory workers—the crop followers—the group with which the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Home Mission Council have had close touch over a period of years. In fact, the Council of Women for Home Missions, representing a number of denominations, initiated a program of social service in migrant labor camps in 1920. Then, as now, numbers of families, with great numbers of small children and young people, were brought in for the harvest or canning season. Babies and little children were either taken to the fields by the parents or left in the shack in care of a little sister. A shelter and daytime care for the little children, and wholesome recreation for the young people, were crying needs. To help meet these needs, our organization established a few experimental community centers in migrant labor camps in New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The cooperation of employers was enlisted, and they erected simple buildings or adapted existing buildings for the experiment. From 6 in the morning until 10 at night these centers were humming with activity—havens for babies, older children, and young people.

The Chairman. Where was that?

Miss Lowry. There were several in New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

The Chairman. Did you personally come in contact with that situation?

Miss Lowry. I came personally in contact with it along in 1926 and 1927.

The experiment was a success. News of it traveled, and in 1924 a request came from Oregon to help establish a similar service for the migrants there. This led to the development of the work on the Pacific coast. But here the situation is different. There were year-round migrants traveling great distances, and where there were hundreds in the East there were thousands in the West. Adaptations in the program were necessary, with a major emphasis on health work at first. There were no nurses in migrant camps. A public-health nurse was put in the field to service a number of camps in a given area in California. The details of the program were worked out in cooperation with the State department of health and the State department of education, and the cooperation of the growers was enlisted. This marked the beginning of public-health work in migrant labor camps—almost 10 years before the State sent nurses into the camps in California.

The Chairman. Where did that appropriation come from?

Miss Lowry. From the mission boards; the mission boards of the now 18 denominations who are cooperating in carrying on the social-service work.

The Chairman. That is private contributions?

Miss Lowry. Yes; and the growers helped finance it. Of course, in many cases, or in some cases, we have had to go in and demonstrate that it can be done, and then enlist the cooperation, the financial cooperation, of the employers, and now some of these growers are making quite liberal contributions to provide this nursing service.

The Chairman. And how many States are you working in?

Miss Lowry. We are working in 14 States.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to give the names of them later on?

Miss LOWRY. Yes; I will.

COOPERATION WITH EMPLOYERS

Even today our nurses are the only nurses who stay in the crop area for the duration of the crop season. Effective cooperation has been worked out between them and those who come in and hold clinics and render much-needed services.

The next advance step in the program was to add to the staff socially minded ministers and their wives, to meet the acute need for religious services, and a pastoral ministry among the Dust Bowl and tractored-out refugees and the Negro migrants. Thus a program that is flexible, inclusive, and cooperative has been evolved. Basic in the effort is cooperation. It has involved the financial, as well as moral, support of employers of migrant labor and groups in the communities near the camps. In 1939 the financial support from employers and nearby communities was over 33⅓ percent of our total budget for migrant work.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you read that again? That is very interesting.

Miss LOWRY. In 1939 the financial support from employers and nearby communities was over 33⅓ percent of our total budget for migrant work. That shows an effort to get them to take over this responsibility.

For example, in one situation where about 10 years ago there was opposition to any program in a certain camp, today that employer has built a community center according to our specifications, finances two welfare workers for the crop season, provides the services of a registered nurse for certain hours each day, and cooperates in various other ways, such as providing a truck to take the young people swimming, and so forth. The community agencies cooperate through a local committee and provide a third worker, a car, running expenses for the program, and program equipment for various activities. One group provides supervision. The general conditions about the camp are improved. There are many other illustrations that could be given showing various degrees of progress. In New Jersey and Connecticut we have State committees functioning, while in New York local committees in each area function. We are looking toward a State committee in New York as well.

Quite as important as the service rendered the migrants is the educational process that goes on within the area through participation in the project. Changed attitudes toward the situation have resulted in many cases.

In addition to the actual service rendered in the camps, a general program of education of our constituency has been carried on through the years, and in 1940–41 this subject of shifting populations is the selected study theme for the majority of the Protestant churches across the country. Study books on all age levels have been prepared for this, and the basic problems—the causes as well as the symptoms—are to be stressed. We anticipate this will lead to an ever greater concern about the problem.

CLASSIFICATIONS AND PROBLEMS OF MIGRANTS

As a result of the close contact of the Home Missions Councils with the agricultural migratory-labor situation, there are a few observations that can be made:

1. There are three distinct groups:

a. Year-round crop follower who has no settled home.

b. Part-time migrant who follows crops part of the year and returns to a home in settled community.

c. The destitute Dust Bowl refugees who wish to resettle.

2. In New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut the majority of the migrant farm workers are the part-time migrants who return to settled homes, although there are several large groups of the year-round migrant, principally the southern Negro.

3. The nationalities represented in these States are Italian, Polish, American Indian, Negro, and Portuguese.

4. There is need of standards for housing and sanitation in the camps. There is evidence of a desire to provide good living conditions as well as evidence of indifference. Specific and practical details as to what constitutes a model camp, including blueprints for housing units, would be helpful.

5. Because of the varying standards of living among the migrant people, there is definite need of a program of education in health and sanitation if the desired results are to be accomplished. If this could be carried on by those who check up on sanitary standards in the camps, that would be an advantage.

6. There is need of nursing service, provision for care of little children, in the camps.

7. There is need to bridge the gulf between migrants and the community, that they may be treated as folks and have a sense of belonging and being wanted. Usually there is a prejudice or indifference on the part of the community toward the migrant, and migrants are denied the services available to resident members of the community.

8. The schooling problem is not as acute as in some other areas. Migrants in New York State and Connecticut are largely from within those States, and crops for the most part coincide with school-vacation period. New Jersey's problem is more complicated, with so many out-of-State children, but the new child-labor legislation should help. It was gratifying to learn that the Negro school for the children of oyster shuckers at Shell Pile, N. J., now accepts children from out of the State without a fee.

9. A plan of routing migrants to jobs directed by the State and Federal employment services could well benefit the migrant by knowing when and where the job is, what the wages are, and so forth—and also benefit the farmer by assuring him of sufficient labor, which is a major worry when the crops are ready for harvest.

10. The basic problem is economic.

11. The solution of the problem of the agricultural migratory worker, which is interstate, will require cooperation of the Federal agencies, State agencies, and private agencies, representing the varied interests.

I also have a chart here which I would like to present for the record.[1]

The CHAIRMAN. That chart will be received for the record.

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[1] See pp. 302–305.

(The document above referred to, a chart of the United States, was received and appears on p. 303.)

Miss LOWRY. On the back of the sheet is a list of the areas showing where this type of activity is going on, giving the States and the communities. Of course, the communities fluctuate, because the situations change from year to year, but there are 14 or 15 States where we are operating, such as Arizona, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. You concern yourself with the health and education of the children?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How did this movement start?

Miss LOWRY. It started in 1920 as a result of a survey that was made by the Inter-Church World Movement, and among various needs in the community that were pointed out, this situation among migratory workers was described, and at that time the Home Mission Agency said that this was an area in which we must do something. And so for 20 years we have been at it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is practically 20 years, and it has expanded every year.

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is also financed by private contributions?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you put on a campaign to get the people interested in this or how do you get your money?

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR SUPPORT

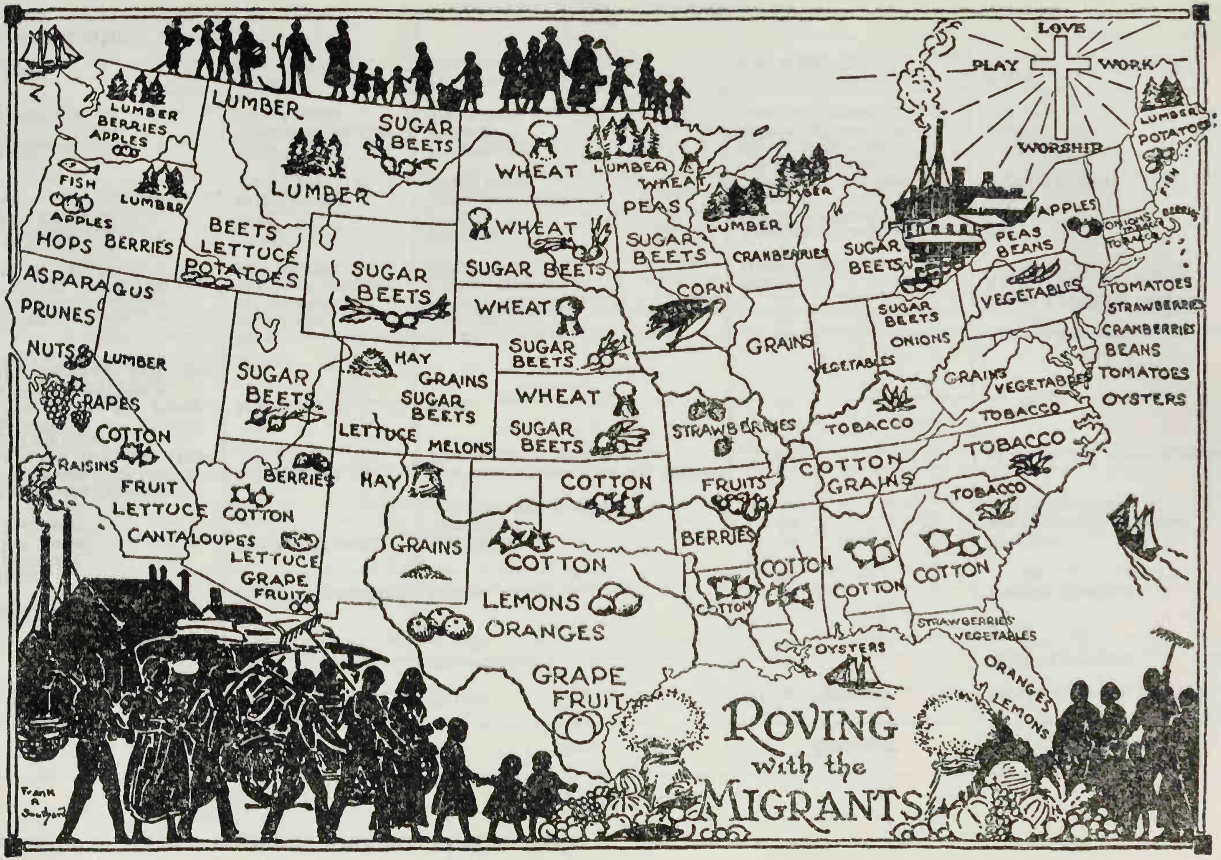
Miss LOWRY. I would say that our money comes from three major sources, first, from appropriations from the 18 national home mission boards, the Episcopalian, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, and so on, and they say that they can do this job better together than they can separately. Second, we have a World Day of Prayer on the first Friday of Lent, and approximately a quarter of the offerings taken on that day go to this work, and it amounts to nine or ten thousand dollars.

The third major source of income is from the communities in these migrant areas and the employers of migrant labor. Of course, a big job is in enlisting the cooperation of every agency that has any relationship to this migrant labor problem in a given community. Sometimes the contribution is financial; sometimes it is in terms of service, and sometimes it is supplies; but it is a coordinating job that we do in the given area.

The CHAIRMAN. If we do not do anything else in this investigation, Miss Lowry, we think that we attract the Nation's attention to the wonderful work that you are doing.

Now, I understand that of the migrants in the United States, about one-third are children; that is what the committee is informed, and your work is directed to the help and education of children.

Miss LOWRY. Children and young people.


ROVING with the MIGRANTS
LOVE
PLAY
WORK
WORSHIP
LUMBER
BERRIES
APPLES
FISH
APPLES
LUMBER
HOPS
BERRIES
ASPARAGUS
PRUNES
NUTS
LUMBER
GRAPES
COTTON
RAISINS
FRUIT
LETTUCE
CANTALOUPES
LUMBER
LUMBER
SUGAR BEETS
BEETS
LETTUCE
POTATOES
SUGAR BEETS
SUGAR BEETS
BERRIES
COTTON
LETTUCE
GRAPE FRUIT
HAY
GRAINS
SUGAR BEETS
LETTUCE
MELONS
HAY
GRAINS
WHEAT
WHEAT
SUGAR BEETS
WHEAT
SUGAR BEETS
WHEAT
SUGAR BEETS
COTTON
COTTON
LEMONS
ORANGES
GRAPE FRUIT
LUMBER
WHEAT
PEAS
SUGAR BEETS
CORN
STRAWBERRIES
FRUITS
BERRIES
LUMBER
LUMBER
CRANBERRIES
GRAINS
SUGAR BEETS
VEGETABLES
TOBACCO
COTTON
GRAINS
COTTON
COTTON
COTTON
SUGAR BEETS
ONIONS
GRAINS
VEGETABLES
TOBACCO
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COTTON
STRAWBERRIES
VEGETABLES
ORANGES
LEMONS
OYSTERS
APPLES
PEAS
BEANS
VEGETABLES
LUMBER
POTATOES
FISH
BERRIES
ONIONS
TOBACCO
TOBACCO
TOMATOES
STRAWBERRIES
CRANBERRIES
BEANS
TOMATOES
OYSTERS
Frank A Southard

(The following table appears on the reverse side of this chart:)

Migrant fields

Place	Season	Crop	Employer	Nationality	Number
Arizona: Salt River Valley Area [1] [3]	October-March	Cotton	Group of growers	Mexican, Anglo-American	8,000
Arkansas:					
Fayetteville [3]	May	Strawberries	do	Anglo-Americans	(4)
Judsonia [3]	do	do	do	do	700
California:					
Fresno and Kings Counties:					
Kingsburg [1] [3]	August-September	Grapes	do	Largely Mexican	3,000
Kerman, Selma [1]			do	do	2,000
Fresno-Merced Counties:					
Dos Palos, Los Banos	October-March	Cotton	do	Mexican	7,000
Firebaugh, Mendota [1]		Vegetables	do	Negro, Anglo-American	6,000
Planada [1] [3]		Apricots, figs, peaches	do	Anglo-American	2,500
Santa Clara and Alameda Counties:					
Mt. View, Sunnyvale [1] [5]	July-August	Apricots, prunes, cherries, berries	do	do	2,000
Mission San Jose, Milpitas Hayward, Warm Springs.[1]	April-May	Peas, spinach, rhubarb	do	Mexican and Anglo-American	2,000
San Luis Obispo County:					
Nipomo, Arroyo Grande, Pismo, San Luis Obispo, Morro Bay.	March-April	Peas	do	do	5,000
Sacramento, Yolo, Sonoma, and San San Joaquin Counties:					
Clarksburg	May	do	do	Anglo-American	3,000
Stockton, Linden [1]	May-June	Cherries	do	do	2,500
Santa Rosa [1]	September	Hops	do	Anglo-American, Mexican	3,000
Tulare County: Poplar, Porterville [3]	October-December	Cotton, grapes	Growers	Anglo-American	5,000
Riverside County: Hemet [3] [5]	July-August	Apricots	Hemet Packing Co	do	2,000
Connecticut:					
Bloomfield, Buckland [2]	do	Tobacco	American Sumatra Co	Polish	1,208
Granby and Tariffville			Harttman Bros		
Delaware: Bridgeville [3]	July-October	Tomatoes, beans	Harry P. Cannon Co	Negro	500
Florida: Belle Glade [3]	November-May	String beans	Group of growers and packing houses.	Anglo-American, Negro	4,000
Louisiana: Hammond [6]	May	Strawberries	Group of growers	do	(4)
Maryland: Hurlock [3]	August-September	Tomatoes	American Stores Co	Negro	300
Michigan: Mount Pleasant [3]	July-August	Sugar beets	Group of farmers	Mexican	2,000
New Jersey:					
Cranbury [2]	do	Potatoes	Group of growers	Negro	2,500
Whitesbog [3]	July-October	Blueberries, cranberries	Jos. White Co	Italian	200

See footnotes at end of table.

Migrant fields—Continued

Place	Season	Crop	Employer	Nationality	Number
New York:					
Cortland [3]	July–August	Peas, beans	Halstead Canning Co	Italian, Polish	700
Homer [3]	do	do	David Harum Co	Italian	500
Hamilton [3]	do	do	Group of farmers	do	300
Ohio: McGuffey [3]	do	Onions	do	Anglo-American	1,000
Oregon:					
Gresham [1]	July	Berries	Group of growers	do	3,000
Salem, Independence [1] [3]	August–September	Hops	do	do	10,000
Washington:					
PuyallupValley, Sumner, Orting, North Puyallup.	June–July	Berries	do	Anglo-American, Japanese, Filipino.	4,000
Yakima Valley: Yakima [1] [2]	July–January	Apples, soft fruits, hops	do	Anglo-American, Indian	10,000

[1] Public Health and Religious Education Program.
[2] Recreation.
[3] Christian Community Center.
[4] Survey under way.
[5] Vacation Bible School.
[6] Pastoral Service.

Council of Women for Home Missions, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea, approximately, how much you spend annually?

Miss LOWRY. It is difficult in one way to do that, because some of the money is contributed directly; it does not go through our treasury, but I would say approximately $40,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a year?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You could use more, could you not?

Miss LOWRY. We could, considerably more, because, of course, we have felt that these projects themselves are educational processes, and they have changed the attitude toward migrant people in those areas, just by the very contact with the work, and finding ways that they can help.

The CHAIRMAN. In what State is your work the greatest?

SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES OF WOMAN'S COUNCIL

Miss LOWRY. I would say California. I would say the situation there is greater, although there are other areas; and last year, or 2 years ago, we started to work in Florida, in the Lake Okeechobee region, and with the two Government camps there we are planning on a cooperative program this year, with our group carrying a major responsibility for the work with the children, both in the white camp and in the Negro camp.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, some of your representatives—do they visit all of the camps in the country?

Miss LOWRY. Not all of them, but we have a worker and supervisor, Mrs. Shotwell, who has an office in San Francisco, and she has Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington, with possibly Idaho; and we have a midwestern supervisor, who operates from Texas and Louisiana up to Michigan, up and down the middle part of the country. I am a combination of eastern worker and national supervisor.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the national supervisor?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And does your work as national supervisor take you into the West also?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything to indicate to us regarding the health of the children in the migrant camps compared to other children; that is, in general?

Miss LOWRY. As I would say, the general impression would be that they are very much under by comparison, largely due to malnutrition which is due to ignorance and economic depression.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you find the education of these migrant children comparable to that of the resident children?

Miss LOWRY. Of course, I would say that they have the same capabilities and this would be evident if they had the same opportunities.

The CHAIRMAN. They have the same capabilities?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

SOURCES FROM WHICH MIGRANTS COME

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you find these migrants mostly come from?

Miss LOWRY. Do you mean this area particularly?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss LOWRY. Most of the migrant labor is in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and is from within those States, with the exception of several large groups that are largely southern Negroes that are brought into New Jersey. There are some brought into Connecticut, and we found one small group of migrants last year who, when they finished the peas and beans, said that they were going South to get another crop; you see, most of them are from within the States except this other Negro group—of course, they come in large numbers into New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you find migrants—are they mostly from the agricultural regions or the industrial regions?

Miss LOWRY. Well, before the Dust Bowl and the tractor situation developed, I would say that there were more from the agricultural regions, but you find more farmers in the migrants today because whole communities have collapsed. you find carpenters and other tradesmen who have been in those communities, and, of course, we have found individual cases where people who have had greater opportunity, and have met with misfortune and drifted into this sort of thing.

Of course, the migrants in these three States very largely come from cities, excepting the Negro group.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your talks with the different migrants, which I suppose you have had, did you find out that they would rather remain at home if they were able to, or they were compelled to leave by circumstances over which they had no control?

Miss LOWRY. I would say that in the case of the native white American who is coming out of the Cotton Belt, he would rather not migrate. He would rather resettle if he had a chance. Some of those who have been doing this for some years, and, of course, they were very largely of the immigrant Negro groups, I do not think look on the experience with a great deal of enthusiasm, but they saw in it a way to earn something.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you find these migrant camps, and tell us about the housing conditions?

Miss LOWRY. All degrees.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all degrees?

Miss LOWRY. Yes; and I think it is a situation that you just can't generalize about. Also, you have all degrees of farmers right within the State of New York. I am thinking now of a group composed of Italian folk and Polish folk, who have bought little plots of land, and some more, and now they are bringing in gangs to harvest their crops.

They have little social vision, yet at the same time you come up against another employer who is really concerned and would like to do something for the people. One of them said to me, "We don't know what to do, or how to do it." These folks come to us just at our very busiest season.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your talks with the migrants, you probably interviewed hundreds of them. Do you find them practically broke when they reach their destination?

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, before they get established in these camps, where do they live? On the side of the road, or where do they go; how do they support themselves?

Miss LOWRY. For the most part, they stay in one camp until they go to the next camp.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any time limit on these camps?

Miss LOWRY. Not for the most part. I would say of the migrants brought in from the cities, who migrate a part of the year, that they come in just about the time that they are needed, and they leave when a crop is done. But the migrant who is on the road the year round will stay, perhaps, longer in the camp; that is, unless he knows that there is a job up further, he stays where he is; that is, if the grower will let him, or he will arrive—such as some we know—2 weeks ahead of this crop season, and before the other crop is finished. They will anticipate a job north, or in another section, so they go, and that crop has not matured, and it may be late that season, and there they are waiting.

THE SITUATION AS TO MEDICAL CARE

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what sort of medical care do the children and the adults receive in these different camps?

Miss LOWRY. I would say one of the major difficulties is that they are excluded, as a general rule, from community services, and that holds for the health problem. Of course they cannot afford to pay for a doctor, and they are not eligible in many county hospitals, except for emergency cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do they obtain their medical care?

Miss LOWRY. They don't get it.

The CHAIRMAN. They don't get it?

Miss LOWRY. Lots of them don't get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any examinations provided for social diseases, venereal diseases or anything of that kind?

Miss LOWRY. Not to any great extent. There are places for it in New Jersey, where they are doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Clinics?

Miss LOWRY. Yes; and of course California has probably the best health provisions or medical provisions. The association that has been developed by the Farm Security Administration, which provides doctors' care and medicine and that sort of thing for them if they need it, is probably the best thing that has been done for migrants from the point of view of medical care.

BASIC REASONS FOR MIGRATION

The CHAIRMAN. From your investigation, Miss Lowry, migrant camps are not the final answer, but they are the best under the circumstances, isn't that so? The best that we can do for the time being?

Miss LOWRY. I would like, further than that, to see some sort of blue prints drawn up which we could consider model camps for the small grower or the canners. I have had two owners ask me if I could show them any plans that they could use in constructing new and better shacks and sanitary units.

The Chairman. You see, there is a school of thought in this migrant problem that says, "Well, why don't they stay home?" Well, now, Miss Lowry, don't you find in your tours that there are circumstances over which they have no control, and they simply can't stay home? They have got to move?

Miss Lowry. Yes; I think so. I think that that would be very true of the total transient problem. I think, so far as the agricultural worker is concerned, there is, in addition to the push, a pull. There is a demand for seasonal workers, you see, to harvest the crops.

The Chairman. And we have got to treat them as people.

Miss Lowry. Exactly.

The Chairman. We have got to treat them as people, American people.

Miss Lowry. Yes.

The Chairman. And do you find in your investigation that you run up against the perennial tramps? You are not concerned with them, are you?

Miss Lowry. No. We might be occasionally, but, by and large, the groups we find more of in the camps are the family groups, with the children.

The Chairman. Are they generally large families, Miss Lowry?

Miss Lowry. Yes.

The Chairman. Three or four children in a family?

Miss Lowry. Yes.

The Chairman. Would they average that?

Miss Lowry. I would say that they would average that, and some would go higher.

The Chairman. Have you any idea as to the number of colored people migrating as against whites?

Miss Lowry. I would say that as against whites there are fewer, but I think that there is an increase in the number of colored people that are migrating; that is, we are finding more Negro migrants from the southern areas than we used to.

The Chairman. Where do the colored migrants—what States do they generally go to?

Miss Lowry. Well, a great number of them are working in the winter vegetables in Florida, and they trek north up through the Carolinas, up through Jersey, and there are some in the West, but nowhere near as many. And, of course, your Mexican comes into the picture in the far West.

THE PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Chairman. Do you find, and is it your opinion, Miss Lowry, that this migrant problem will probably increase rather than decrease?

Miss Lowry. I would say so.

The Chairman. Do you feel that it is a national problem?

Miss Lowry. There is no question about it.

The Chairman. And that sooner or later the Federal Government has got to participate, probably greater than it is now?

Miss Lowry. Definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. You feel that?

Miss LOWRY. Yes; and I feel, too, that the State governments must also have a responsibility in it, in cooperation with the Federal Government—that is, especially in relation to the farm migrant, the agricultural worker.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever in your investigation find these private employment agencies working in border States, sending migrant workers into other States, when there were no jobs for them? Did you ever run up against that proposition?

Miss LOWRY. No; I have not. That would not necessarily come within our capacity for investigation.

I do feel if the United States Employment Service and the State employment services could perhaps pursue a plan by which these people could be riveted to their jobs, it would be a very great help.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is a wonderful work you are performing, and the committee and the report will try to give you some sort of a boost that you are entitled to, Miss Lowry.

Mr. CURTIS. I might ask a question. I think that you have given a very definite contribution to our investigation, in addition to the various Government agencies giving some attention to this problem, in the way of humane and fair treatment to these people. Do you feel that some attention should be focused toward a solution of those problems in a community that have made necessary a mass exodus?

Miss LOWRY. Yes; definitely; and I think one of the best things the Farm Security Administration has done is try to make life livable on the farms where they are, so that they won't have to take the road.

Mr. CURTIS. There are many sections in the Middle West, where I come from, where the areas that have been reached by water conservation and irrigation are holding the people.

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And in the other territories where that has not yet been done, they have been forced out in great numbers, for reasons entirely beyond their own control, and they would rather move than stay where they are.

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you provide religious services for these people?

Miss LOWRY. Yes; we do, and I would like to say that while we are a Protestant organization, our services have been carried on without any discriminations of race or creed. And I would say that we have tried to strengthen every person in his respective faith, you see, and I think the thing has come before us most acutely with the dust-bowl folks, who are a patiently religious people who have been very active in their churches.

Mr. CURTIS. What States are you referring to?

Miss LOWRY. Arizona, California, primarily.

Mr. CURTIS. That is where they have arrived at, but where do they come from?

Miss LOWRY. They come from Oklahoma and Arkansas and Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. My State of Nebraska has lost a number of them, some counties have lost up to almost 20 percent of their population.

Miss LOWRY. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And a study of reclamation and irrigation maps as compared to the population decrease, shows that we have a very definite contribution to make there which will relieve the States from having to have so many people on hand.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke about the Farm Security Administration. I understand that they have taken care of 800,000 families in the South in this way: providing them with seed, a horse or mule or cow, and that 85 percent of them are paying their loans back to the Government, but there are 500,000 still uncared for.

Miss LOWRY. And they are potential migrants.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything further?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Miss Lowry, I just want to say that I think you have made a very valuable contribution to our hearing.

Miss LOWRY. I shall be glad to furnish details in the course of our project.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

REPORT OF NEW JERSEY MIGRANT CENTERS

LOCATION OF COUNCIL CENTERS

Whitesbog.—Blueberries, 150 workers, 80 acres; cranberries, 350 workers, 500 acres.

Cranbury.—Potatoes, 2,500 workers.

Port Norris (*Shell Pile*).—Oysters.

WHITESBOG (INFORMATION FROM 1939 REPORT)

The majority of the pickers came from Camden, Philadelphia, and Morristown, a few from Delaware and Maryland where they had been working in canneries. Those from the cities return when the season is over. Many who come for the blueberry season remain for the cranberry picking. In the interval between crops, some are employed as grass pullers in the cranberry bogs.

Among the workers, Italians predominate, but there are also Negroes and Portuguese. There is some racial feeling evident. Shingled houses with sections for two or four families in each are provided rent free by the company. Each large family has three rooms. Smaller groups have one or two rooms. Wood-burning ranges and huge outdoor ovens for baking bread are placed nearby in cook shacks or out doors. Water faucets are located in convenient intervals down the streets. Outside toilets, men's and women's, are located back of the shacks, and are the usual variety of outhouses. These are kept clean by the women of the camp. The garbage is burned in the stoves, or removed to the garbage disposal heaps away from the community. The people are not too neat about keeping the camps free of rubbish, papers, etc. The wash tubs, wash basins, and cooking equipment are neatly hung on the outside of the shacks.

In case of illness or accidents, the Center girls are asked for advice and in several instances, this year, provided transportation to doctors; the nearest being 12 miles from Whitesbog. Both the nursery and living quarters were equipped with first-aid material, which was needed quite a bit, both seasons. There is a compensation-insurance coverage on all employees.

The employers are friendly to the people. They expect the work done and have field bosses to see that it is done but they are not unkind or unreasonable about it. The families usually return year after year. One woman has been coming for 6 seasons with her three boys. Her husband stays in Philadelphia where he works for 3 days a week at $12 a week. She said that by coming out to Whitesbog the money that she and her two oldest boys (12 and 15) could make picking while the youngest one (9) carried out the pecks, would enable them to stay off relief rolls during the winter. They could buy coal, clothing, and help with the rent with the money made by picking. She said, "It is much nicer to sit down to eat food you have earned for yourself than to sit around and wait for someone to give it to you." This same opinion is predominant among the workers here. In many families the fathers stay in the city either working or on relief, while the mother and children pick blueberries and cranberries.

One family, composed of the mother and eight children, 3 to 18 years, have been coming to Whitesbog for 10 years. In talking with some of the young men, it was found that a great many of them have no work to return to in the city, and spend their time loafing, shooting crap, or at the movies. One young man spoke of his coming to Whitesbog as a vacation. He said he liked to work out in the sun, and part of the money he made would buy winter clothes and give him some spending money when he got back to the city. This same impression was gained from talking with other young people.

The girls have left school when 16 and stay home, some do find work, but not many, and there are a very few who do finish school. Some admitted they had been retarded in school by coming out to work, but others said it makes no difference and they are able to make up the work easily and keep up with their grades.

The majority of the pickers, if they did not have the opportunity of coming out to Whitesbog, would lack sufficient clothing, food, and other necessities during the winter.

For the blueberry season, the nursery was open July 7 through August 4 and for the cranberry season from August 28 through October 17. It had been announced that no babies would be taken so the smallest ones had been left in the city, but there were some as young as 18 months. The others ranged in age up to 9 years. Average attendance was 18. (Most of the children in camp who were over 8 picked in the fields.)

The following is the daily program which was planned.

7:30 a. m.: Clean-up and free play.

8:30 a. m.: Outdoor play; circle time.

10 a. m.: Clean-up; milk and crackers.

10:30 a. m.: Drawing, coloring, play.

11:45 a. m.: Clean-up for lunch.

(In this center children brought their own lunches but ate together and had grace. Attention was focused on manners.)

1 p. m.: Rest hour.

3 to 4:30 p. m.: Outdoor play, walks, and nature study, or inside games until they got ready to go home.

This schedule could not be adhered to strictly. Weather conditions often made changes necessary. A heavy morning fog would mean that workers went to the fields later and therefore children arrived at the center later. In case of rain when families stayed at home, there would be fewer children at the nursery. Sometimes the heat was so intense, that pickers stopped work early, which might shorten the day at the center.

The "morning circle" was one of the most popular events with the children. This consisted of songs, games, and the pledge of the flag. It was a cherished honor to hold the flag. Sometimes part of the children would entertain the others. There were also discussions on various subjects. One day the boys discussed W. P. A. Many of the fathers were Work Projects Administration workers and there was quite a debate as to whose father was doing the most important work, making roads, tunnels, or buildings.

Most, if not all of the people here, are Catholics, and the children, especially, have a deep religious feeling. It was not at all unusual for a child to come up and ask for a picture of the Lord, or one of a saint. They love the religious songs, and their conduct during grace, or prayers was very reverent.

Throughout the camp there is a feeling of deep respect toward the nursery. On several occasions when one of the boys uttered a curse word in the building, he was immediately silenced by the others with the remark, "Words like that aren't used in here." This feeling of respect has been definitely demonstrated several times, and helps to encourage the workers at the center.

Activities for 9–14 age group.—Clubs were formed, one for boys and one for girls of these ages. They met on different days, after they came in from the fields and had cleaned up. The girls enjoyed having a club. They made scrap books, wove mats of crepe paper, played games, went swimming, and had picnics. The boys didn't care much for club work but liked to go to the center on their days to read, play games, and talk. Children of these ages, after hours of work in the fields, were too tired to do very strenuous things.

It is not possible to do a great deal for these children in the "between" age. They are tired when they come in from the fields, and it is difficult to hold their interest.

TRAVEL
BAG
COLORING
BOOK

School, to the children of migrants, is an exception rather than the rule. The Council of Women for Home Missions has undertaken to establish classrooms such as this one in localities throughout the country where families migrate for seasonal work in the fruit and vegetable fields.

On days that neither boys nor girls had the center to themselves it was open for library hours, and anyone could come in to read or select a book to take home. Many of the older boys and girls in the camp seemed to enjoy this, though not many took out books.

Young people's program.—Baseball, volley ball, swimming, and campfire picnics were the outside activities for this group. Ping-pong, shuffleboard, checkers, and other games were played evenings in the "barrel house," a storage place for barrels at other seasons but used during picking time as a recreation hall. There was a nickel-in-the-slot machine which furnished music for dancing, the young people supplying the nickels themselves. Once a week there were movies; these were attended by adults as well as young people and by the Negroes who were not reached by any of the other activities. A ping-pong tournament at the end of the season aroused much interest.

The company which owns the blueberry fields and the cranberry bogs helps finance the council program, provides the building with a yard for the nursery, called Friendship House; also the "Barrel House" and living quarters with electricity, water, and coal, for use of the council staff.

Three girls worked at Whitesbog in 1939. They felt that it would be a great advantage another year to have a young man on the staff to help with recreation activities.

CRANBURY

Cranbury is the center of the New Jersey potato district. The recreational program was carried actually to 29 farms, although groups from farms outside Middlesex County would join in now and then. This means that a total of 976 migrant workers were directly influenced by the program (including 195 women, 93 children). These workers were Negroes from the following States: 80 percent Florida, 10 percent Georgia, 5 percent South Carolina, 3 percent North Carolina and Virginia, 2 percent Northern States (Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey).

The setting for migrant work here is this. There is an average of 250 acres per farm planted in potatoes. Few farmers will dig their potatoes unless the market price is at least $1.35 the hundred-pound bag. This causes the migrant workers no end of hardship, because unless the farmer is going to sell immediately he refuses to work his hands, for potatoes cannot be stored long in hot weather. So the poor migrant is forced to sit around and eat up his average $3.70 a week before he earns it.

Potatoes are a peculiar crop. They can be planted, cultivated, dug, graded, and sacked by machine, but it takes human hands to pick them up from the rows after the digging machine exposes them. It is this operation that largely determines the profits to be made on the crop. Hence we have the perfect stage for the influx of cheap labor.

In 1939 that cheap labor was the migrant Negro worker from Florida. And cheap labor it was. Regardless of what has been said in newspapers to the effect that workers can earn $3 to $4 a day—I know definitely that average top wage per worker during the 5 weeks' period July 24–August 26 was about $5.60 a week while the wage for as many as 30 percent was anywhere from $1 to 75 cents.

The price for picking was 1½ to 2 cents per 5/8-bushel basket, or as was generally practiced 3 or 4 cents for a sack that held two 5/8 bushels. The way this was arranged was to assign two rows to a picker and join them into teams of two with sacks to fill between them. Most of them received 3 cents for each sack they filled, hence at the end of the week they had to split the salary two ways. This seems to be a perfectly plausible system, but some factor enters in that seems to prevent an individual from earning much after the two-way split. Maybe it's because there is ever the tendency to take turns slacking and resting so that a team of two working jointly does not accomplish as much as two individuals working independently. The work is done from early morning until noon, and late afternoon until dark. This avoids the heat of the day—for the sun easily spoils potatoes by drying them out rapidly. Of course, it would be almost unbearable to kneel down in a dusty field under a broiling sun hour after hour—but I doubt if the farmer is considering other than the potatoes when he sets his daily schedule.

The system of employing this migrant labor is this: A man called a contractor makes an agreement with a farmer to dig, grade, and sack his potatoes for so much a hundred-pound bag (usually 8 cents). But the farmer is charged $2 for the transportation of each worker that the contractor brings to the farm to pick the potatoes. So we see a farmer has three responsibilities in preparing his crop for market, supplying the tools, housing the workers, and paying the transportation costs of the number of workers he employs. All the rest is taken care of by the contractor. The workers receive their money from the contractor.

A worker receives 3 cents per 10/8-bushel bag which weighs from 125–145 pounds. Workers who run the grader and sew the sacks get 25 cents an hour (250 sacks of potatoes per hour and quarter or about $1.55 for the five men who work the grader).

Hence on 250 bags of potatoes:

Field labor about	$6.50
Grader labor about	1.75
	8.25
Contractor gets from farmer (8 cents a sack) about	20.00
Profit	11.25

But this isn't all. The contractor receives the $2 for delivering each worker. Then he also charges each worker $3.50 (a total of $5.50 or $550 transportation price to bring up 100 workers from Florida on a truck). And if he is to take them back after the season it's $3.50 more. Otherwise, he takes them to Virgina and abandons them since by law he must remove them from New Jersey. Now, the dire evil is that at least 100 of these people will never do any work, but he brought them merely for transportation profit. He charges them for everything. Most of the families that come up are as much as $25 to $50 in debt to him before they earn a dime. (A family of 5, $17.50 transportation, and about $6 a week board) so we can see the real profits are not made from the 8 cents a sack he gets from the farmer, but the contractor exploits those miserable workers who earn his living for him.

He gives them nothing. On one farm the workers sat around 5 weeks and did nothing, while the farmer waited for prices to go up. The workers lived on his farm at their own expense—although he feels justified because he gives them his barn free of charge to live in. The workers have to borrow from their contractor and since he handles the pay roll most of them will return home as they came—in debt to the contractor.

This year was not the first that saw migrant labor used in Cranbury potato fields. But it was the first that saw serious social friction develop and crystalize into physical violence. This fact can be traced to the contractor system.

Previously, farmers hired their labor directly—came face to face with those who were to work for them. In other words, if a farmer felt that a particular man would be trouble to the community he would not hire him—or at least he could fire him. But in an agreement with a contractor only rarely does he have any selective power in the hiring of labor. That means that a large number of outside workers are coming into the community without anyone actually responsible for them (although nominally the contractor is, of course). A good percentage (close to 40 percent) of these workers are migrants the year round with no permanently established home. Because of this they often lack a sincere respect for community law and order. Social trouble in Cranbury centered around four factors: (1) Workers were crude, and altogether physically distasteful; (2) they worked too cheaply—killing the potato labor price ruinously; (3) agitation on the part of persons not using migrant labor, and therefore somewhat oversensitive to its unfavorable aspects; (4) the helpless position that contract labor puts the farmer into, insofar as handling the workers is concerned. Surplus workers are often those who cause trouble because they become stranded and wander about the town. Most of them were arrested by local and State police.

No. 2 above, although important, is yet but a dormant factor. The other three were the real factors that caused a group of white citizens to attack a group of workers and mistreat them, apparently with the intent of frightening them away or to prevent their returning next summer. In the end a man and a woman, workers from Georgia and man and wife, were smeared over with white paint and intimidated by threats and other outrages. State troopers handled the investigation and the grand jury is to decide indictments on September 15. An interesting sidelight is that both white and colored citizens of Cranbury are anxious for the same after effect—that the migrants won't return next year. Everyone heartily dislikes the migrant Negro from Florida.

Tumbled-down shacks, barns, and chicken coops are used for dwelling places. Every place observed was a fire trap. One farm saw the complete destruction by fire of a barn along with all the belongings of the workers who lived in it. The workers slept in it on hay, oats, barley—a mere spark was enough to burn the whole place inside of 2 hours. In 10 minutes it was impossible to go near it. Had it happened at night without a doubt there would have been loss of life. There is no compensation for the workers but charity.

Similarly in other barns filled with combustible grains, smoking and cooking go on—oil burners are used. All are horrible fire hazards. On the 29 farms not one farmer or contractor provided a first-aid kit—or any means for first-aid administration. Fifty percent of the farms had no electrical lighting for migrant quarters, necessitating the use of oil lamps and candles where combustibles were stored. No fire-fighting apparatus could be found, nor was it possible to get a supply of water quickly for fire emergency. In the case of the barn that burned, quarter of a mile of hose was needed by firemen. Ventilation poor. Since most dwelling places are barns—door serves as entrance and window—a suffocating state arising during a rainy spell. No screens are provided. Flies and mosquitoes become almost unbearable. No precaution against the common drinking cup is provided. No beds or bedding are provided, no bathing facilities, no provisions at all for women workers. (No private housing, no chance for bathing, no relief from fatigue in fields—such as benches. No time provided for trips to out-houses. Ninety-five percent of the places had no sanitary tissue. The majority cook on outside open fire. Shoes are a rarity. In fact all clothes are. So serious are these factors that many workers never leave the farm because of nudity.)

Cranbury had a clinic (it was really a leaky tent and a spoiled potato barn). The good it did perhaps can be measured in the facts that (1) it revealed to Cranbury the needs of a clinic building, (2) it revealed disease to those ignorant of it, (3) it made farmers aware that not all Negroes have syphilis (percentage was 28.4 percent).

Religious activities on the farms were provided for by Rev. Mark A. Gibson, Negro, supplied by Board of National Missions of Presbyterian Church. These services with singing and preaching were held in barns. Farmers were cooperative in supplying light for the service where possible. (But after the service they took the bulbs out again.)

Softball playing is the favorite recreation with the workers. All like it and the farmers are willing to contribute a cleared field for a diamond. Boxing and checkers are welcome—checker boards were made with bottle tops painted for checkers. The women were so scattered that it was difficult to arrange any definite program. However, in some cases they played ball, or entered checker tournaments. Group dancing and games fail to raise much enthusiasm. Rev. Gibson assumed responsibility by own request for children's program.

Needed social adjustments are: (1) Selected workers, (2) fair wage (5 cents a bag for picking), (3) a community center for workers, (4) consideration on part of farmers in not hiring men before he is ready to pick his crop, (5) better housing for workers, (6) a more extensive recreational program to include more farms, so as to provide an outlet for idle moments, (7) a law requiring: (*a*) Individual drinking cups to be provided by farmer, (*b*) first-aid equipment, (*c*) extensive fire precautions, (*d*) requiring farmers to provide for workers loss due to fire on his farm, (*e*) regulated influx of workers according to farmers' needs.

Softball games were held practically every day with competition between the two rivals becoming keener during the game. Teams visited other farms and farmers were willing to provide a truck for team transportation. In some cases after noticing the effect on the workers, farmers bought ball and bat for daily practicing and everyone looked forward to beating another farm. In one case the workers were grumbling because a farmer would not dig, but a game of softball made everyone happy. After that the farmer was an ardent supporter of the program. Boxing always caused intense interest with the spectators. Checkers were a boon for the elderly as was horseshoes.

SHELLPILE

There are five to six hundred Negro oyster shuckers at Shellpile. About one-fourth of them remain there but the others are migratory, coming from Delaware and Maryland.

The workers live in two-room or three-room shacks owned by oyster men and others, for which they pay 50 cents per room a week. However, those who remain do not pay rent unless they are working.

Schooling is provided for children of school age in a special two-room school house on the edge of the community. Children in seventh or eighth grades or high school go to the Port Norris school.

There are only five white residents in Shellpile—four men and one woman, the wife of the watchman.

Oyster shuckers receive 30 cents a gallon which is 10 pints. The "skimmer" who measures the oysters, scrapes off the top for even measure. If a shucker brings his pot without enough to measure a full gallon the other shuckers "razz" him. Workers usually begin at 6 a. m.—sometimes earlier if there is a large order.

Only the shell is touched in the shucking process—the oyster itself being shucked and packed without being touched by hand.

The shuckers daily wage is hard to estimate. If the oysters are predominantly large, he can make much more than if they are small. Some large oysters take 50 to 70 per gallon while smaller ones will have up to 180 oysters in a gallon. It takes a shucker just as long to open an oyster that is small as it does to open a large one. If they work a 10-hour day (recently specified by the union) a shucker can do 5 to 10 gallons a day. That means he earns $1.50 to $3 a day, depending on the size of the oysters. He might earn from $10 to $15 a week. But he doesn't often work 6 or even 5 days a week. That is only possible in the three or four rush seasons before Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Years, etc., when large orders come in for oysters. The shucking season is usually September to April.

The council center at Shellpile could not be kept open all year for lack of funds. This was a great disappointment to the people there. In the 1938–39 season, it was open only 2 months. When the children learned that it was to close early, they cried, almost with one voice, "What will we do? Where can we go now for a little fun? Aren't we to have any more stories?"

For the 1939–40 season, the center opened in November to continue through March. More adequate quarters were secured and two workers placed in charge—a man and a woman. A varied program for all ages is thus made possible.

TESTIMONY OF HON. CAROLINE O'DAY, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

The Chairman. This is Congresswoman Caroline O'Day, representing what district, Mrs. O'Day?

Mrs. O'Day. Representing the State of New York at large.

The Chairman. We think it is very nice of you to come here, Mrs. O'Day, and give us the benefit of your views, and to have you interest yourself in this big problem that we are trying to do something about.

You have a statement that you would like to present to us?

Mrs. O'Day. Yes; and I will hand it over to you.

The Chairman. Do you want to read from it?

Mrs. O'Day. Not unless you want me to.

The Chairman. I think that it would be a good idea.

Mrs. O'Day. I would like to say, that years ago, long before I was interested in this, I was interested in the child-labor matters, and, of course, very much against child labor, and there were many problems, and I, as a member of the Consumers League, took quite an active part in looking into that. Then, it was a matter of children in industry.

Now I find those problems have been transferred to agriculture, because that due to the labor laws, especially of New York, there is not much trouble about the children in industry, but there is still trouble everywhere about children in agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard Miss Lowry's statement?

Mrs. O'DAY. Part of it; and I hope to get a report of that, very excellent report, very encouraging.

The CHAIRMAN. Your reaction to it, I take it, is that there is still so much to do.

Mrs. O'DAY. Yes; but I am grateful to her for what has been done.

PROBLEM OF THE FAMILY—NOT THE "HOBO"

Those of us who have been interested in the migrant problem have come to realize that it is essentially a problem of the family. The old days of the migrant worker or "hobo" who knocked on the kitchen door and sawed a day's supply of wood for his dinner have passed. The "tramps" of today are fathers, mothers, and children. It is with the children that I am concerned chiefly.

Children suffered first and most deeply from the appalling conditions we have heard described as common to migrant agricultural labor. They are more seriously affected by crowded and unsanitary living conditions and lack of health protection. They are, of course, the chief sufferers from the complete absence of educational facilities. The exact consequences, in figures and tables, of the effect of this type of life on their emotional growth has, unfortunately, never been estimated. We do know, however, that any child needs a certain amount of stability to develop into a useful citizen. We do know that the child needs, far more than the adult, the security of knowing himself to be an integral part of the community in which he lives.

NEEDS OF THE MIGRANT ARE LARGELY THE NEEDS OF THEIR CHILDREN

The studies made to date of these "hobo" children do not carry them far enough for us to determine the ultimate consequences of the type of life and living conditions to which they have been subjected. We do know, however, that tables and figures have proven the relationship between poor housing and juvenile delinquency. Common sense tells us what to expect of those boys and girls we are permitting to grow up against the background of the migrant agricultural labor.

We have worked for years to keep children out of the sweatshops. No reasonable person fails in this day and age to recognize the importance of sparing boys and girls of tender age grueling labor in factories and work shops. Agricultural labor, of the type we have been discussing, is sweatshop labor. It is in no way related to the work performed by the farm child on the home farm. There we have the father and mother teaching the children the homely and useful tasks that are part of traditional farm life. Unless carried to excess, such tasks have definite educational value and prepare the child for the life he expects to live if he continues on the farm. I won't say such "education" is not sometimes overdone, but in general it is wholesome and useful.

But the work of children in industrialized agriculture has none of these virtues. It teaches them nothing and, in fact, prevents them from obtaining the training and education needed to prepare them for adulthood. It is the young child who suffers most. The older boys and girls do not, as a rule, accompany the family to the farm regions.

The National Child Labor Committee recently made a study of 251 families who had migrated from Philadelphia, Camden, etc., to southern New Jersey truck farming regions. In these families were 1,764 persons, of whom 81.6 percent went to the truck farms. Of those left behind, three-fourths were the fathers and boys and girls 19 years of age and older. The mothers and children too young for industrial employment were those who left for the farm regions. The younger children in this group were not permitted to work on an hourly basis, but were held to piece work. It was considered that they could not work fast enough to justify paying them by the hour. Perhaps it was thought that they, being after all only children, might stop too frequently to watch a bird or look at the sky. Their earning was necessarily small, but it was impossible to determine exactly the wages of each child in this group, since they were hired as a family and not as individuals.

These families arrived in New Jersey between March and November. The children lost in the spring, 1 month of schooling and again the same amount in the fall. Being nonresidents of the State, they were not entitled to go to school in New Jersey. The effect of the lost school time was distressingly obvious. Ninety percent of the 12- and 13-year olds had not reached the normal-school grade for their age. As a matter of fact, the schooling of the children of agricultural migrant workers is noticeably lower than that of their parents. What this means to the future of this group is not difficult to imagine. I quote in this connection, Miss Beatrice McConnell, of the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau:

> If the next generation is not to pay the price of neglect by falling lower and lower in social and economic status, some means must be found to give these children the advantages of that free education and choice of occupation that we have boasted in this country is the right of every American child.

I would like to say that in 1930 investigation revealed that more than twice the number of children employed in all of the industries combined were employed in this agricultural migrant work, so you see the problem has changed from the industry in factories and shops to the sweatshops of the farms.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. O'Day, you speak of "hobo" children, do you mean the children who roam the highways alone like some of the persons who appeared before us?

Mrs. O'DAY. There are those children, of course, those young people, but I mean the children who go with their parents, and follow the crops from Florida and California up through the middle of the United States, and then come back South again for cotton picking.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it from your statement that you are deeply concerned about these children; for instance, when they are picking crops they don't attend school. That is true, isn't it?

Mrs. O'DAY. Certainly it is true. They can't do both things.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is on account of the insufficient earnings of the father or the parents of the children, is it not? They have got to work in order to support themselves?

Mrs. O'DAY. They have got to work in order to help support the family.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got any solution about that problem?

Mrs. O'DAY. Well, it is up to the committee, I think, to find the solution. On the west coast, in the crop fields of Washington and Oregon, and in the potatoes, fruits, and truck crops in California, there is some effort made to have education for the children. But in many of the counties there is no health service, even for residents, and of course for the migrant children there is less than nothing, if that is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you find that lack of schooling present in the eastern seaboard States?

Mrs. O'DAY. Well, yes, somewhat, but it is not as bad as it is in some of the Western and Middle States. Indiana and Delaware—for instance, I have here in my notes, the children brought in from the south, Mississippi had much more of their schooling. Of course, some of those children are Negroes, and the schooling for them in the South is most inadequate anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I understand that Polish children who left Baltimore in great numbers for Eastern Shore cannery camps must go to school now in these districts?

Mrs. O'DAY. So I hear, that they must. That, of course, is a great improvement over the old days when they were not made to go to school.

MIGRATION IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. O'Day, I know of my own knowledge that you have been interested in this problem and made some study of it.

As a Congresswoman representing the State of New York and the Congress of the United States, do you feel that it is a national problem?

Mrs. O'DAY. I do, indeed; oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That the States simply cannot take care of it?

Mrs. O'DAY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And the local communities?

Mrs. O'DAY. They cannot. They cannot control it, and I think much more will have to be appropriated by the Federal Government. California, for instance, has instituted trailer clinics who follow the migrants as they go from crop to crop, but they have not a great many, but it is the beginning, you see, and the Federal Government, with grants-in-aid, should supervise that sort of thing through the States. The Federal Government is responsible.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think, Mrs. O'Day, has focused the attention of the Nation on this problem? It has sprung up lately.

Mrs. O'DAY. I think Steinbeck's book.

The CHAIRMAN. The Grapes of Wrath?

Mrs. O'DAY. Yes; but I think that a great many people think that that only applies to California when, as a matter of fact, it applies everywhere. We have no Dust Bowl between Oklahoma and the Eastern States, and that condition applies here in the East just as it does out there.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the idea that the committee had in their minds, starting out in New York, to show them that California was not the only State in the Union that had this migrant problem.

Mrs. O'DAY. By no means. California has been awakened to the danger of it, and California is beginning to do some very good remedial work, but in New York you do not have so much because we have not the farms. The farms out on Long Island are mostly worked by the families, and to go driving out past them you will see very few children.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. O'Day, most of your discussion has been with reference to children in these agricultural migrant families. Of course, you realize that we have a great many migrants other than agricultural workers, destitute migrants in many instances, coming into States or going into other States, crossing State lines, and becoming or remaining destitute after they reach there.

You also recognize that a great deal of this is the inevitable result of economic pressure in the areas from which they have come.

Would you, in your recommendations, include such methods as the Federal Government might be able to use through its various agencies to alleviate those economic conditions in the various sections where the pressure is outward?

Mrs. O'DAY. Certainly I would.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That would be your first stand?

Mrs. O'DAY. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And taking care of them after they have become migrant, of course, would be simply caring for the situation that has developed from such causes, but you would strike at the root of it first?

Mrs. O'DAY. Certainly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe you agree with me that the work that the Farm Security Administration, through its rehabilitation program and such other governmental agencies as that, have been doing has been very helpful and probably should be extended?

Mrs. O'DAY. Very helpful, and it is very encouraging, because it shows that most of these migrants really want work; they want a chance to be self-supporting, and many of these farm migrants only become migrants because they cannot find enough employment for members of the family to remain in their homes.

CHILD LABOR IN THE FIELDS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. O'Day, I was interested in your discussion, or your distinction between farm tasks done by children, as members of the family, in their own homesteads, and in industrialized areas. I was reared on the farm myself, and I know something about those tasks, but this thought entered my mind: Saturday, over in New Jersey, at a certain place, we saw some migrant workers who were waiting for the potato crop to come in, and I remember one Negro mother, rather boastingly told of the number of potatoes she could pick up. And small children out there—I dare say the smallest one was not over 8 years of age—boasted of the fact that they were good potato pickers, too.

Now, I just wonder if this farmer employs the family as a unit?

Mrs. O'DAY. Usually.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I just wonder about the advisability of using those children simply to work as a part of the family unit, and not being directly employed as wage earners.

Mrs. O'DAY. Well they are wage earners, because the picking they do is added to the family income, but as I said in my statement the young children are never employed by the hour, because it is supposed that they do not work steadily; they will stop and play with a toad, or watch a bird or do something of that kind.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the particular case that I mentioned, of course, they are all employed at piece work, and I was just wondering if there would be any distinction in your thought if the family still worked as a unit?

Mrs. O'DAY. Well, the children, the younger children, ought to be put into nursery schools, or to have someone there to look after them. They should be taken out of the field.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly not made a part of the industrialized age.

Mrs. O'DAY. No. Some years ago, the Consumers' League, and I think it was Eleanor Herrick who did the investigating, investigated the canning factories upstate—this was before our good labor laws went into effect—and we found that in rush seasons—we did not call them migrant workers, but that is what they were—women would come from the nearest city, onto the farm, and bring their 4- and 5-year-old children, who sat by their side and shelled peas; did work of that kind, and they would frequently fall asleep.

Well, now, that condition in our canneries, and on our farms, has been changed, but it still exists, I believe, in some parts of the country.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no questions. I would like to join as a member of the committee in thanking you for your contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a very valuable contribution and we thank you very much.

Mrs. O'DAY. I am very much interested, and if I can help in any way, I hope you will notify me.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a 5-minute recess now.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused, and there was a recess.)

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL A. SNYDER, CONSULTANT ON RESIDENCE, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed.

Mr. Nathaniel A. Snyder is the next witness.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Snyder, will you give your full name to the reporter?

Mr. SNYDER. Nathaniel A. Snyder, and I am Consultant on Residence with the Department of Public Assistance in Philadelphia.

Mr. CURTIS. You are located in Harrisburg, Pa.?

Mr. SNYDER. No; in Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a State or city employee?

Mr. SNYDER. A State employee. It is the State department of public assistance which has subdivisions in the counties, and there is a certain degree of autonomy exercised by county boards, but we are a part of the State department.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, to what particular branch of relief and related subjects have you directed your attention in the past?

Mr. SNYDER. Now, as Consultant on Residence, I am consulted on technical problems of legal settlement and the residence requirements for the various categories of assistance. The department of public assistance administers all of the various forms of assistance exclusive of unemployment compensation. Each form has its own residence requirements, and what we call general relief—home relief—has a settlement requirement in addition to a residence requirement.

Mr. CURTIS. And you have given special attention to the population and how much is transient, and to population movements, in that connection, have you?

Mr. SNYDER. I have given some attention to that, but I am not a research worker nor a statistician. I wanted to add also that my department controls the returns to States of settlement, of persons who do not have settlement in Pennsylvania, and handles requests for authorization to return to other States, of persons settled there.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA TO SUBMIT COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mr. Snyder, this committee was created by the House of Representatives to investigate the interstate migration of destitute persons. I understand that you and your department perhaps will have a more formal statement to present in our Washington hearing, but at this time we would be glad to hear from you any general statements, any suggestions, and any problems or particular angles of the problem that you care to point out.

Mr. SNYDER. Apparently you are aware that the Governor of Pennsylvania has responded to Congressman Tolan's invitation to submit a statement and has said that he should like to submit a comprehensive one covering all of the departments of the State, including the department of public assistance, the department of public instruction, the department of welfare, and so forth. For this reason, the Governor felt that I should not submit a statement for Pennsylvania at this time. Dr. Raymond T. Bowman, deputy secretary of assistance, has been appointed to draw up the comprehensive report and, since I am to have a hand in it, I was asked to come here as an auditor of your proceedings.

Mr. CURTIS. We regret, of course, that you are unable to give us a formal statement at this time. However, we are more than happy that a more elaborate presentation covering all the aspects of interstate migrancy and destitution as it affects the various departments of the State of Pennsylvania, will be available to us at our Washington hearings. Before you leave the stand, however, I wonder if it would not be permissible for you to give us your personal opinion on one or two technical matters that have come up in connection with settlement and residence laws. You understand, of course, that we are asking you to do this as an individual and not as a representative of the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SNYDER. I think it would be permissible.

"SETTLEMENT" LAWS AND RESIDENCE STATUS

Mr. CURTIS. We have had considerable discussion here concerning settlement laws, and a number of witnesses have pointed out the variance of these. Some States might have 1-year or 2-year or 3-year or 4- or 5-year requirements, and we have had two distinct and different recommendations as to the remedy.

Now, we have had one group who have advocated the abolition of all settlement requirements, and another group who have advocated a uniform State law on requirements. We would be glad to have you discuss that in the light of your experience.

Mr. SNYDER. Well, I think that those who recommended the abolition of settlement laws did not quite mean the abolition of any residence requirements, and I think that that distinction is important to be made. Sometimes the terms are used interchangeably, but they are not synonymous.

The settlement laws are derived from the Elizabethan poor laws, and their purpose was to immobilize the population after the breakup of feudalism. I think first of all they were preceded by laws which prohibited migration, and those laws failed, and the settlement laws were another attempt and they failed to halt migration, possibly because it could not be halted.

Now, it has developed into an attempt, not of immobilizing the population but of determining the locality responsible for an individual.

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN "SETTLEMENT" AND "RESIDENCE"

No particular form of assistance is incumbent upon the locality as a result of a person's settlement status. In other words, if a person has settlement in a particular community, that community, theoretically, is responsible for him, but there may be no provision for the carrying out of that responsibility. There may be no program whatsoever or no funds appropriated. The residence requirements, on the other hand, are generally, or always, in reference to a specific form of assistance for which a program has been created and funds appropriated.

In other words, when we say that the residence requirement for aid to dependent children is one year prior to the application we mean that a person who meets that requirement is eligible for a particular form of assistance, generally in a particular amount by virtue of that residence, if otherwise eligible.

Now, then, I have heard fears expressed that if settlement laws were eliminated, the bars to indiscriminate interstate migration would be let down. Of course, your residence requirement would be a continuous bar to that. However, I am sure that you gentlemen realize that if there is a possibility of a program for general relief with Federal participation, that program should be a residual one. That is it should provide for those ineligible on any score in any of the special assistance programs and not leave any gaps, or else we shall just create another problem for ourselves in place of this one.

COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES

Mr. CURTIS. Now, you have had some experience in getting surrounding States to accept people who belong in those States, and also to reimburse you for expenditures, have you?

Mr. SNYDER. Yes; we have.

Mr. CURTIS. With what States have you found a workable relationship, and have there been some States where you have had considerable difficulty?

Mr. Snyder. I do not think that I can answer that; for one thing, because I think some of that may be included in a more comprehensive report, and for another thing because it is a shifting problem; right now, for instance, we have a problem with Illinois. They have a new law requiring 3 years' continuous residence just prior to the application. Now, obviously, anybody who leaves the State, if we use a literal interpretation of that law, would be ineligible for assistance in Illinois.

Mr. Curtis. What is your law on that?

Mr. Snyder. We have two factors—a settlement law and, as part of the public-assistance law, a residence requirement for general assistance.

The settlement law requires 1 year of self-support in order for the person to acquire settlement. The requirement for general assistance is that a person have legal settlement in Pennsylvania, as determined in this other law, and, in addition, that he shall have lived within the State for 2 years continuously just prior to the application.

However, we have had an Attorney General's interpretation of the latter part of the requirement (continuous residence before application) on the basis of which we have been able to say that, for one thing, if a person leaves only to take employment, and returns thereafter, he shall be eligible. For another thing, if a person leaves with the intention of returning, he shall be eligible.

We have not been able to clarify the situation in reference to Illinois as a whole, because it depends on the localities, and we have not been able to get any statement of just what their practice will be in view of their new law, and its interpretations, but Chicago itself has given us a response to the effect that persons who left the State with a present intention of returning shall be eligible on their return if they have not been absent for a period of a year.

POSSIBILITY OF ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN STATES

Mr. Curtis. Now, I realize that you are going to go into these in more detail in your general statement, but as a general thing you would think that a move toward uniformity was preferable to a move toward abolition of residence requirements, or would you care to express an opinion on that?

Mr. Snyder. Mr. Curtis, I think that it may be a matter of terminology, whether we say that we want to eliminate the settlement requirements, or whether we say that we want to make them uniform.

In my way of thinking, we would be doing away with the settlement requirements, and in their place we would have a residence requirement. I mentioned some of the distinctions. Now the settlement laws offer certain unwieldy, difficult, complicated, and unfair characteristics which a simple residence requirement would not have. For instance, you have mentioned the varied length of residence necessary in various settlement laws. On your committee you have States represented which vary from requiring 6 months to requiring 5 years—6 months for Alabama and 5 years for New Jersey.

In addition to this varying length of time, the conditions under which a person can acquire settlement vary from State to State and, unfortunately, from county to county.

In New York, for instance, a person may not have been a public charge within a year in which he expects to acquire settlement. Not only he but his wife or his minor children must not have been public charges, and not only on the part of New York—that is, not only whether they received New York assistance—is important, but also whether they received assistance from any State in the Union, or from the United States, during that period of time, which means that a person on W. P. A. or a person whose dependent relative was on W. P. A. would not acquire settlement.

There is the peculiar situation, as an illustration, of a girl who lived in a very small town in Pennsylvania, and had an illegitimate child there. The situation was just intolerable for her to remain in this town, and she left the child with her parents, with the understanding that the child would remain there indefinitely, and she was going to make a fresh start for herself in New York.

Now, from 1933 until recently, she was employed as a domestic. I believe she earned something like $10 a week, which was not sufficient to send any support back home.

When she lost her job and had to apply for assistance, she was found ineligible, because of the fact that the child she left with her parents was included in their assistance, getting assistance from the State of Pennsylvania, and therefore since she had a minor child receiving assistance from some State, she herself was unable to acquire settlement, according to New York law.

At the present, New York is being somewhat tolerant of such situations, and is trying to decide them on the basis of social desirability, but there is every indication that they do not intend to continue to do that, and, as a matter of fact, they have right along been finding one situation after another in which they say, "This person has been unable to adjust since he has had to receive assistance intermittently for some time, and we want to return this person to your State."

In the example I used, the young woman's return to the State of Pennsylvania would be unfair in view of her employment for 6 or 7 years in New York.

MIGRANTS BECAUSE OF MOVING INDUSTRY

Mr. Curtis. I have a special assignment that I would like to have you give some attention to in your detailed report. We had a witness appear here yesterday from a town near Sunbury, Pa.—Shamokin Dam—and her story was that there was a shirt factory there, the H. G. Rob Shirt Co., that had moved out of the State into Mississippi by reason of certain inducements there as to rent and tax situations, and that there were 750 employees left behind in Pennsylvania.

She related how she and her husband, who had been employees of that company, together with at least two other people, had gotten in their car and traveled in a number of States seeking employment; every place where they saw a factory, they stopped to inquire.

If it is possible to get some analysis as to what happened to those people, how many of them were absorbed there, how many of them went on local relief, and how many of them scattered to the various parts of the country, in quest for employment, I think that it would be a bit of information that would be valuable to this committee. Do you think so, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, do you have anything else that you feel you would like to say to this committee at this time?

DIFFICULTIES OF ADJUSTING STATE REQUIREMENTS

Mr. SNYDER. If I may take the time—I started to list some of the difficulties with settlement laws which would make it desirable to, whatever you want to call it, make them uniform or eliminate them and substitute a residence requirement.

The CHAIRMAN. If I could interrupt you right there, let us start off with this thought. In the first place, Congress has no jurisdiction over the several States to fix residence requirements or the settlement requirements; that is right, is it not?

Mr. SNYDER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then how are we going to get it done?

Mr. SNYDER. Of course it seems to me that it would be achieved by patterning the legislation on the previous Social Security legislation, which would make the State eligible for participation only if its plan meets approval.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the Federal Government has jurisdiction over the dollar it spends; the jurisdiction of the Federal Government follows the dollar. Is that not right?

In other words, if the Federal Government would participate in the financial set-up of the migrant problem, it then could dictate the conditions under which it would participate, is that right?

Mr. SNYDER. Precisely, Congressman Tolan.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead. I am sorry that I interrupted you.

Mr. SNYDER. It seems to me, well, one of the characteristics of the settlement laws, which makes them hard to handle, is that in almost every case they require not only State residence, but county and township residence. Yet the problem is definitely national.

It is national because it is interstate. It is national because there are localities which cannot fend for themselves, and it is national because national planning is required.

I would not be willing to say for all time that we should not limit migration. I would only say that right now we do not know enough about it to do any sensible limiting. If the Federal Government takes hold of the problem, perhaps there will be a time when we can route migrants to where they are needed.

I also wanted to mention the very ticklish and difficult provision for derivative settlement. A married woman takes the settlement, here, of her husband, and in most States she continues to take that settlement whether they are living together or not, and whether they have lived together in recent years or not, and whether they have any interest in each other or not.

"CRAZY" SITUATIONS CAUSED BY PRESENT LAWS

In most States there is no provision for acquisition of separate settlement by married women.

We have some crazy situations arising out of that. As an illustration, a young man from Pennsylvania, who had lived in Pennsylvania all of his life, joined the Army, was stationed out in California, and married a California girl. Just 6 months before his enlistment was up he deserted her and his whereabouts were unknown.

That girl has settlement in Pennsylvania, and she was "returned to Pennsylvania." She had never been in Pennsylvania in her life, and she had to be met at the station because she would not have known where to turn.

In our correspondence with your State, Mr. Tolan, we tried to point out the social desirability of keeping her there, but they were bound by their laws, they had no provision there for making an exception, and they replied that what we said was true, but "the taxpayers of California must be protected," and so forth.

Now, that is just one of the crazy situations which can arise. I would, therefore, say that in your deliberations you should consider the possibility of having a provision for exceptions on the basis of social desirability. Perhaps the State where the person finds himself suggesting the exception, the other State either concurring or disagreeing, and if that State disagrees, than a final decision could be made by the Social Security Board or some other arbiter.

Another decidedly difficult provision is the exclusion provision which is found in most State laws of settlement. That is the provision which makes it possible for a person to lose his legal settlement in one State without gaining it in any other. We certainly should guard against that, in the permissive legislation that you pass for the States.

Some very intolerable situations have arisen out of this quirk. When a man moves to another State for the healthy purpose of taking a job, he takes no thought as to "legal settlement" nor does he know its vagaries. It seems to me that we should be careful to guard against leaving a person in the no-man's land of exclusion.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mr. Snyder, since the creation of this Government, you will agree with me that we have spent millions and billions through the courts and through the Congress fixing the status of coal and lumber as it passes through the different States and protecting that status right down the line, but we have never spent a dime so far to fix the status of the human interstate commerce, have we?

Mr. SNYDER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a peculiar thing, is it not? Now, that is what we are trying to do at this time, is it not? We are trying to search for some way to fix the status of the human commerce passing from State to State.

Mr. SNYDER. I certainly wish you godspeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. CURTIS. We will look forward to your report in Washington.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF J. FLETCHER AGNEW, IN CHARGE OF THE SALVATION ARMY CONFIDENTIAL BUREAU, RESPONSIBLE FOR RESEARCH WORK IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement?

Mr. AGNEW. I have not a written statement. I do not know just exactly what you prefer, but I can answer questions, and I have brought some figures and statistics.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Agnew, will you give your full name and the official capacity in which you appear to the reporter?

Mr. **Agnew.** J. Fletcher Agnew, in charge of what is known as the Salvation Army Confidential Bureau. I am also responsible for research work in the city of New York.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Do you have, in your official connection, contact with migrants?

Mr. **Agnew.** Yes, I do; quite large numbers of them.

Mr. **Sparkman.** What type?

Mr. **Agnew.** Well, it is pretty hard to put them in types.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Well, are they agricultural workers, or people simply looking for a job, or are they drifters, or what?

MOST WORKERS IN S. A. HOME ARE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Mr. **Agnew.** Our experience here in New York is with fewer of the agricultural workers than when I was in the Middle West. I spent a good many years there. Here they are mostly laborers and some mechanical workers. I made a list of occupations of the men we have in our lodge at the present time. We have about 210 in our lodge at Forty-eighth Street and these range all the way from metal polishers to musicians, a large number coming under the categories of laborer and restaurant worker. In fact, 41 styled themselves restaurant workers, and the next largest number, 39, just say that they are laborers; and we have 25 who claim to be salesmen, and 22 are chauffeurs, and the rest are steel workers, shoemakers, meat cutters, printers, electricians, and so forth, running 3 and 4 on up to 15 men in each classification.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Do you think that that is a fairly typical showing of the group that you would have there from time to time?

Mr. **Agnew.** What we have now is fairly typical of the group that we have from month to month throughout the year.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Now, you speak of the lodge. That is run by the Salvation Army?

Mr. **Agnew.** That is run by the Salvation Army; yes.

Mr. **Sparkman.** And these people are given lodging there?

Mr. **Agnew.** This is a lodging house for men. They are given help by the Salvation Army for a period of 3 days and 4 nights. Some of them are allowed to repeat this period, according to need, but we give them that in units of 3 nights and 4 days, including meals.

They do a little work for that, an hour or two a day, and we make efforts to find work for them if they are anxious to find work.

Mr. **Sparkman.** Are most of them anxious to find work?

Mr. **Agnew.** Most of them say that they are. I do not know how large a percentage really are anxious to look for work. Most of them come to New York saying that they think New York is a place where they can find work, but not a large percentage of them do find work here. Most of them drift out again without having found work.

NUMBERS FROM VARIOUS STATES

Mr. **Sparkman.** Can you give us any idea as to where those people came from?

Mr. **Agnew.** Of those we have here, 103 say that they come from States other than New York, that is, 103 out of the present population of 210. They come from 16 States and Washington, D. C.

The largest number registered is from Pennsylvania, 34; and 12 from New Jersey; and the rest are 2, 3, 4, and 5 from the other of the 16 States mentioned. The farthest comes from California, and, of course, the nearest from New Jersey.

Mr. Sparkman. About how many migrants do you handle in the course of a year? Could you give us an estimate?

Mr. Agnew. You mean out-of-State migrants?

Mr. Sparkman. Those are the ones that we are particularly concerned with; yes.

Mr. Agnew. Well, our population runs about the same. We have about 100 at a time, out of the 216 to 225, who are from out of the State. That is, according to their own statements. We could not swear on oath that those are all correct. The turn-over is about 100 percent every week, which means that we have, about every week, another 100 to 125 men who are, or state that they are, from out of the State.

Mr. Sparkman. And you say somewhere between 3,500 and 4,000 in the course of a year?

Mr. Agnew. In the course of a year; yes. We have a smaller number, of course, of women.

We do have one lodge for women on Twenty-second Street, but that, of course, is a smaller problem in point of numbers.

Mr. Sparkman. Are most of these people unemployable?

Mr. Agnew. Physically, most of them are employable, if they are able to travel from as far as California, and other places; they are generally physically able to work.

Not all of them are in a mental condition to work. That is, not all of them are anxious to work, and not all of them are employable, from the mental point of view, but I would not like to state what the percentage is. It is very difficult to say, because a man may be unemployable at one time and may be employable a short time later.

Mr. Sparkman. May I ask how long you have been in this work? You may have stated it but I do not remember.

Mr. Agnew. I have been in this work, or social work in general, for a period of 13 years.

Mr. Sparkman. During all of that time have you come in contact with the migrant problem?

Mr. Agnew. I have, in this part of the country or in other parts—in Chicago and in the Midwest.

RECENT CHANGES IN MENTAL ATTITUDE

Mr. Sparkman. Have there been any noticeable changes within the last few years?

Mr Agnew. Well, of course New York is not typical of the country, and my last 5 years' experience has been here in New York. It seems to me that the men who come to New York are a little bit more inclined to expect the city or other public agencies to take care of them than the men that I have met in the far-western country. I think possibly there is a change of attitude in the same men—that they know New York is a big place and they think surely there is a place for them to be taken care of here. In smaller places they expect to get out and have to hustle for it.

I think that there is a larger percentage of men who think that they have to work in other places, who think that they can get along here in New York without work. I think that that is the influence of the city, the size of the city, and the kind of place it is. I think that they are the same men that I met farther west, and I do not think that there is any great change in the type of men that are traveling, except for one thing: That many of the men who have been traveling for a long period of time—that is, for 5 or 6 or 7 and 8 years—they have got so into the habit of it and have been so unsuccessful in finding steady employment that they have almost given up hope of finding steady employment. If they can just get something now and then to keep them alive, that is all that they expect. As long as they expect nothing more, it is pretty hard for them to find more.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think any of this changed attitude is due to the difference in the relief that is offered in various communities or various sections of the country?

Mr. AGNEW. I do not know how much influence that has. If you are doing something for them, then this is the best part of the country there is. If you run out of funds and there is some reason why you cannot help them, then New York is terrible, and their statement is that no one will do a thing for them in New York.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In your experience do you find this the best section of the country for them? What I am getting at is, if some particular section of the country is rather, I would not say lax, but generous, in its relief, does not this furnish a kind of syphoning condition that just naturally draws the migrants to that particular section?

Mr. AGNEW. Well, there is that tendency; but we have been watching that here in New York with the expectation that the problem might get entirely out of hand, because New York does do more than some other sections, but it does not seem to have had that effect to the extent that we were afraid it might.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you do when one of these migrants comes to you?

Mr. AGNEW. We have a social worker at the office on Forty-sixth Street, which is connected with the institution of Forty-eighth Street. This social worker will try to find out what she can about the man, what his expectations are, what brought him to New York—usually they say that they came to find work here—and, if possible, what his marital state is.

Most of them claim to be single, and all we can record is what we are told, though we can't vouch for its accuracy, because it depends on what answers many of these men think are the most profitable to them as to what answer you get. But we do try to find out, if possible, what their marital condition is, where they came from, and where they consider their home is.

Many of them will say, "Well, I have no home. I was born in Pennsylvania, but I haven't been back there for 20 years." But, if possible, we try to find out if they do belong to some other section, and why they left it, and what they expect to find in New York, and how long they expect to stay. Most of them are very indefinite about the time that they expect to stay. If they find work, they will stay; and if they don't, they will drift on.

We try to find out if there is any particular physical need, or mental need, or other need for which there are public resources, through which the man can be made more employable than he is at the present time.

If there are any other aids that we can give him, we try to do so.

We encourage him to register at our employment bureau, which is in the same building, and then we observe what his efforts are to get work, and, by that means, we can tell whether the man is really making an effort to find work or not.

We employ some of them in our salvage industry, and some of them we find temporary jobs. That will test out the man to find out whether we can recommend him for a more permanent position, if one is to be found. By that means we try to weed out the ones that are employable and give them a better opportunity than the ones who, we will say, are not employable, because they are not really looking for work.

MIGRATION SHOULD BE TREATED AS NATIONAL PROBLEM

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder, Mr. Agnew, if from your experience and your contact with this problem you have formed an opinion as to whether or not it is a problem which calls for Federal participation, Federal concern, or Federal legislation?

Mr. AGNEW. I cannot see how the problem can be taken care of in this piecemeal method as we are doing, some sections doing it fairly well and other sections not doing it at all, and others doing as little as they can. It is not getting the men—and women also, because there are women drifters—it is not getting them anywhere, and we are not really doing them any good.

Even when we find a man we think we can do something for, overnight he can pull up stakes and go on, and where he goes we do not know, what his experiences are after he leaves us we do not know, and where he has been before he came to us we don't know. When he goes to the next town, they don't know whether or not he has been in the Salvation Army or other shelter, and what estimate the Salvation Army has of him, and what efforts have been made to find him work. He starts all over again in the next place he goes to, and I cannot see from my experience, how the problem can be dealt with except, consistently and constructively, on a Nation-wide basis.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Agnew, I certainly appreciate your contribution to our hearings. Do you have anything further that you would like to add?

Mr. AGNEW. I don't know of anything further.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It may be that some other member of the committee would like to question you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Adjutant, for coming here.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kramer is our next witness.

TESTIMONY OF SAM KRAMER

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Kramer, will you state your name to the reporter?

Mr. KRAMER. Sam Kramer.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. In Russia.

Mr. PARSONS. You are an American citizen?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What age did you come to this country?

Mr. Kramer. Eight years of age.

Mr. Parsons. When did you become a citizen?

Mr. Kramer. I became a citizen right after my twenty-first year, as soon as I became 21 years of age.

Mr. Parsons. You enjoy the American citizenship as much as you think you would enjoy the Russian citizenship if you were back?

Mr. Kramer. I enjoy the American Government, the American citizenship is a privilege and is an honor.

Mr. Parsons. That is very good. What education have you received?

Mr. Kramer. Public-school education, in our little neighborhood on the East Side, what we call the Lower East Side, in the Ghetto of New York—public school up to the first grade, at that time.

Mr. Parsons. Did you finish high school?

Mr. Kramer. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Never had any college training?

Mr. Kramer. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did you come directly to New York City here, when you came to America?

Mr. Kramer. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You have been here all of your life and a resident of this city?

Mr. Kramer. Resident of New York City most of my life; yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You came here with your parents?

Mr. Kramer. Yes; that is, my father came first.

Mr. Parsons. What other relatives do you have in this country?

Mr. Kramer. Uncles and aunts.

Mr. Parsons. Are they all American citizens now?

Mr. Kramer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What was your first job?

Mr. Kramer. My first job was in a clothing store, on Broadway. My father died, and I was forced to go to work to help support my family when I was 13.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you make at that time?

Mr. Kramer. $3.50 a week.

Mr. Parsons. How many years did you follow that?

Mr. Kramer. Three years, working 14 to 15 hours a day.

Mr. Parsons. And that would make you about 16 years of age?

Mr. Kramer. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Is that the reason you did not get a high school education because you had to work to support the family?

Mr. Kramer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Then what did you do following your work in the store?

Mr. Kramer. Well, I worked also in a clothing house, down town, as a shipping clerk, and I received about $7 a week after that for about 2 years.

Mr. Parsons. Were you steadily employed then, following that?

Mr. Kramer. After the second job?

Mr. Parsons. Yes.

Mr. Kramer. I was not. I was out of work about 6 months after that.

Mr. Parsons. And where was the next job, and what were your duties, and what was your income?

Mr. KRAMER. I belonged then to what we called on the lower East Side—there is a very glorious building called the Educational Alliance, founded by Baron D. Hersch, in the 1880's, and we attended a gymnasium there, and I became an assistant instructor, or a helper, to the instructor in that gymnasium, working there for about 6 or 7 months, getting my first experience in the physical-culture business in that building.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you been more or less affiliated with that kind of business since?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir; all of my life.

Mr. PARSONS. At what age did you go on the stage?

Mr. KRAMER. My first appearance on the stage was for Tony Pastor, Tammany Hall Building, Fourteenth Street. I was about—a little better than 20 years of age.

Mr. PARSONS. And what kind of appearances were you making in the theater?

Mr. KRAMER. We call it in our language, a hand-balancing act, consisting of two men, one man is on the bottom and one is on the top working upside down. It is known as a hand-to-hand balancing act.

Mr. PARSONS. You are listed here on our directory as an unemployed variety artist, and will you explain to the committee the variety of work that you have done on the stage, and about what the number of associates are, and the number in the country that you would estimate that are unemployed, of that class?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir. Well, in defining the word "variety," variety comes from the school of the old White Rats of America, which was one of the first theatrical organizations in the United States. The word "variety" came from England—from the English vaudeville theater, England having established that name for people who do various kinds of acts. A variety actor would be a type of an actor or actress who will either do an act such as hand balancing, gymnastics, or trapeze work, sketches—we have had sketches in the old days, condensed, and monologists, who were men who did talking acts, as you ladies and gentlemen will remember, and we have had every conceivable kind of an act, from a magician to a gentleman who would make pictures out of cloth and rags.

That covered the term "variety" until Mr. Keith came into the business in Boston, in 1898 to 1899. Mr. Keith opened his first theater and called it vaudeville, which was really a modernized interpretation of the word "variety," applicable to all kinds of acts in the theater up to this present time.

Today, with the moving pictures, we call vaudeville that entertainment presented in night clubs, hotels, large cafes, vaudeville theaters including those like the Paramount down town. Balaban & Katz houses in Chicago, that combine pictures and band on the stage with four or five acts and numerous kinds of novelty acts, and introduce stars from Hollywood. This is the type of vaudeville that they use today—people who work in all branches of the present-day profession, what is left of it.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you employed pretty well during the 1910's and 1920's, up to 1929?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir. I worked about 10 years, almost consecutively, for Mr. Martin Beck, who was the founder of the Orpheum

Circuit, and we worked from New York City to San Francisco, even as far back as 1906. I made my first appearances in the Orpheum Theater in San Francisco, and worked for Mr. Beck for about 10 consecutive seasons, which means, when we say a season in the theater, it means about 40 to 42 weeks.

Mr. PARSONS. And what was your earning capacity annually?

Mr. KRAMER. My earning capacity for two men, what we call a two-man act, with my partner—we were both partners in the act, receiving 50–50 of our money—we earned $250 to $300 a week on the Orpheum Circuit at that time.

Mr. PARSONS. And paid your own expenses out of that?

Mr. KRAMER. We received a ticket covering about 32 cities and we received a reduction of about 25 percent on this ticket, and we would return to Mr. Beck or to the general offices, the home office in New York, say, $25 a week, until we paid our tickets off. If the ticket would cost the average public $300 for that trip, we would probably get our tickets for $175 or $200 each.

Mr. PARSONS. You were employed up to 1929 steadily?

Mr. KRAMER. Fairly steadily, and went to Europe and played in England.

Mr. PARSONS. You never played on the Continent?

Mr. KRAMER. England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you become unemployed for any great length of time?

Mr. KRAMER. When the beginning of what we call the double-feature picture came into vogue.

Mr. PARSONS. And what year was that?

Mr. KRAMER. That was the beginning of about 1929, or 1930, when the pictures came into full force.

Mr. PARSONS. And the depression was beginning at that time, too?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing since 1930?

Mr. KRAMER. Working at night clubs, cafes, and theaters. I went on a lecture tour, lecturing on physical culture and health, for three consecutive seasons, working most of that time on the Boardwalk in Atlantic City, at Pennsylvania Avenue and the Boardwalk.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you ever applied for relief here?

Mr. KRAMER. Never.

Mr. PARSONS. You have never been on relief?

Mr. KRAMER. Never.

Mr. PARSONS. You have never worked on W. P. A.?

Mr. KRAMER. Never.

Mr. PARSONS. And the theater program?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you employed at the present time?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, on and off. We work about 2 or 3 days a week up in the mountain places, like the summer hotels, mountain resorts, and any kind of work that we can get, such as performing in cafes, night clubs, theaters, one-night stands, and one-night-stand clubs in New York City.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you make sufficient funds to enable you to live in comfort?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. What has been your earning power in the last 2 years, say?

Mr. **Kramer**. Five and six and seven years ago Mr. Morris, now deceased, would pay two men to play a club $75, less 5 percent. As you know, the booking agent has the right by law to take out 5 percent, but that they have received in recent years 10 percent and more.

Now, here would be $75 or $60 or $50 for two men for 1 evening's entertainment, and today acts work for $5 and $7 and are asked to go in an automobile owned by one of the acts, so that they can carry the other six to various destinations—Hartford, Bridgeport, New Haven, Albany, or to whatever towns the acts are destined to go. Five dollars a job and $10 a job—that is $5 a person—to leave New York City to go out of town.

Mr. **Parsons**. That is the kind of circuit you have been on for the last few years?

Mr. **Kramer**. On and off; yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How many of your kind do you estimate are working in or out of New York City?

Mr. **Kramer**. From my knowledge of the American Variety Artists, of which I happen to be the treasurer, and being on the national board I have statistical and historical data, I can say definitely and truthfully that we have about 8,000 people in and out of New York and vicinity.

Mr. **Parsons**. This is rather the headquarters for the New England section, and probably for Jersey and Pennsylvania section nearby?

Mr. **Kramer**. Yes, sir. Pardon me if I may interrupt—the New England section would also take in Boston.

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you have any figures or statistics with reference to employment of your kind in other sections of the United States?

Mr. **Kramer**. Yes, sir. Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Cleveland (Ohio), and Boston are the various headquarters for acts.

For instance, an act will try their luck—we have acts coming from California to New York City, and they get a few weeks here and there. They cannot procure any more employment, so if they have a little money left, they go to Pittsburgh, working in and out of the territory of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, they have 2- and 3-day stands, and 1-night stands, and club jobs. When they exhaust their work in Pittsburgh, they go to Dayton, or they go to Cleveland, and then they try Chicago, and go there by bus, or some of them have their own cars and they travel that way, which makes them really, in a sense, ladies and gentlemen, migratory workers.

Mr. **Parsons**. Did you have any knowledge of, or association with, the theater guilds of the W. P. A. in New York City when it was in operation?

Mr. **Kramer**. I have studied the history of the W. P. A. and I very humbly say that during the period of the Federal project theater in the United States, if you will kindly permit me humbly to say, that we have given the best and the most beautiful, the most artistic plays.

We had an opportunity to employ several hundred of our performers in the city of New York, who were very grateful for it, and very gracious, and we have reflected and personified consciously one of the highest standards of theaterdom in the history of American theaters, which includes almost 125 years.

Mr. PARSONS. Could you give the committee any idea of about what number of the actors and actresses are out of employment at the present time in the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. Pardon me, may I ask—you say, how many?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes.

Mr. KRAMER. Easily, I would say definitely without exaggeration about 9,000.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you mean by that that they are unemployed entirely or that they have part-time employment?

Mr. KRAMER. I would say that they are finding that economically—I would say that they are unemployed most of the time, even though they include the $5 jobs.

A man may go on a job for $5 tonight, and probably has a lay-off of 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 days before he gets another job for $5 or $6 or $8, and I think that I would consider that as being unemployed. He would be without social security and without relief.

Mr. PARSONS. Are most of the 8,000 with headquarters in New York, that is, being booked out of New York City, in that same category, that same class?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir; outside of, I might say, the headliners—as you know, they have a Hollywood reputation—and in order to advance business for a box office today in some of our better vaudeville theaters, which employ the band on the stage and four acts following, they have Hollywood names in order to draw box-office attraction, and that act, of course, gets anywhere from $1,000 to $10,000 a week and works on a percentage.

Mr. PARSONS. About how much did you make in the year 1939?

Mr. KRAMER. In 1939 my average earnings in the theater, working night clubs, cafes, and one-night stands, were about $22 a week.

Mr. PARSONS. You would say for 42 weeks or 45 weeks?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, I would say for about 28 to 30 weeks. Probably sometimes I earned a little more and sometimes less, but about $20 or $18 or $24.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you able to put a little aside for a rainy day back in the halcyon days when the tide was running high?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. PARSONS. And that has stood you in good stead through these years?

Mr. KRAMER. Part of what I had I lost during the depression, and I have made use of some that was left.

Mr. PARSONS. You have not a great deal of those accumulated savings at the present time?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir; I am collecting my social security from the World's Fair of last season.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any suggestions to make to the committee on this problem that might be of assistance to your class or your group?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, Your Honor, I have. I am very glad you asked me the question, and, in fact, I feel humbly honored that I was chosen by my organization to see your august body and tell you exactly the situation.

I firmly believe that we can have a Federal theater in the United States. I hope, and I dream, and I pray that the great spiritual need which I believe can establish the most artistic type of consciousness and cultural development for a people generally—well, I may be naive enough to say that we may have a vaudeville theater in every town of the United States. My good friends of the legitimate stage are in Washington this week trying to see if they can get their Federal theater for the legitimate stage, and I, being a vaudevillian, would like to reflect that desire, because I believe, and I know that if I were to ask to put on a show tonight I could get the finest artists in the world to perform for any kind of a show or benefit, whatever performance it may happen to be, and when I say "acts," I mean standard ladies and gentlemen who have become part and parcel of the theater, who are the theater, and who reflect theater, and dream theater. They were brought up in it, and they were raised in it, and they love it, and that love can so consume the human being that he can foster a theater intelligently if given an opportunity. Now, in a commercial field he is deprived of that opportunity, but if you give him a Federal theater supported by the United States Government, held by proper ladies and gentlemen, you can develop a limitless talent, ladies and gentlemen, that will be so glorious that it will be incomparable for me to express in words, if I were a Daniel Webster, and I do hope that out of this meeting this afternoon—pardon me for making long speeches—I hope we shall have a Federal theater.

I will glory in it before I pass out. I would like to see it. It will relieve, and it will help, and it will give us a living, and I know that the artists are not asking for a million dollars a week to be employed by the United States Government.

Mr. PARSONS. And the American public certainly would revel in the entertainment.

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Barnum said that there was a sucker born every second.

Mr. KRAMER. May I interpret Mr. Barnum for you?

Mr. PARSONS. I would be glad to have you do that.

Mr. KRAMER. While I can eulogize Mr. Phineas Barnum for his foresight, and the powerful pioneer Americanism in his make-up, he was a rugged individualist, and he performed a miraculous deed by establishing an early theater, and was graciously mentally equipped enough to bring over people like Jennie Lind, and they started a circus business with the money he earned from a very great and immortal singer, but, on the commercial side of Mr. Barnum, I do not believe in his statement that the public are suckers born every minute.

I believe that the public, if given an opportunity to feel that something of their own intelligence can be transmitted over the footlights, it will far cease from being suckers, but part of a cultural movement.

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, honestly I believe that it is our duty to foster the reflection of a high intelligence, and eliminating the sucker part of the public.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Everyone is a sucker in this country but one's self. We all feel that we are not suckers.

Mr. KRAMER. I, as a performer, performing for 38 years, I can only say truthfully that every time I stepped out on the stage, whether it was in America or England, I had the highest reverence and regard for my audience—my audience paid me my living and I appreciated the applause, which was music to my ears, and will be until I die. Part of an actor's life is applause. An actor can go hungry for 3 days, but if you give him a good hand, he will continue to act until he falls over on his face.

And in conclusion I want to say this, for your kindness: That the actors have never refused to play benefits. We are the greatest benefit players in the world; and when we ourselves need benefits, it is very difficult for us to obtain them without a great many maneuvers on our part. But I do believe if you want to relieve the situation in the theater that we can help to organize a Federal theater and give established performers a living.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever think of running for Congress?

Mr. KRAMER. I can answer that, sir. I am a public lecturer on physical culture, which is my business, and I have never dealt very much in politics, and I never had an opportunity, because I had to travel. Probably if I established myself in some community long enough I might consider that possibility.

The CHAIRMAN. I would hate to run against you, anyway.

Thank you very much.

Mr. CURTIS. Just one more question. Just what do you mean by a Federal theater?

Mr. KRAMER. I mean by that a theater similar to the Federal Theater Project of the W. P. A., a theater that can take in every branch of the profession; the kind of a theater where when you come inside you can sit down and if you like to see a juggler you will see a juggler, you will see a trapeze act, you will see a diving act, you will see five of the finest artists in America in a sketch, a condensed version of Shakespeare, or any of our modern plays. All kinds of theater acts which culturally make for the theater you can have.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, do you mean a subsidized theater over the country, or an outright Government-owned theater where the actors and artists are on the Government pay roll? Which did you have in mind?

Mr. KRAMER. I had in mind a subsidized theater, aided by the United States Government.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think it would be a paying proposition?

Mr. KRAMER. Definitely, and I will use the modern term, a moneymaker for the Government. I do believe that with all of my heart, and I can prove it, because I have a plan——

The CHAIRMAN. In answer to Congressman Parsons' question, you said that there were about 8,000 unemployed variety artists, in and out of this New York district?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any figures to indicate the number of unemployed in your profession in other parts of the country?

Mr. KRAMER. I can get the figures from my organization; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then we will insert them in the record subsequently.

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Kramer, those figures that you gave, are they intended to include those who might be in all kinds of work, and such as I believe you mentioned, the circus, and carnival, and night club, and all of those things?

Mr. KRAMER. You see, my work takes me to carnivals, circuses, night clubs, and cafes, and theaters.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are these conditions which you describe pretty much the same in all of those different forms of endeavor?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. PARSONS. That is a very good statement.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF HAROLD A. LETT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, URBAN LEAGUE OF NEW JERSEY

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lett, will you give your name, please?

Mr. LETT. Harold A. Lett.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. LETT. 120 Littleton Avenue, Newark, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity do you appear here?

Mr. LETT. As executive secretary of the New Jersey Urban League, located in Newark.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement there, or do you wish me to ask you questions?

Mr. LETT. I have submitted a statement prior to this meeting, and this happens to be my copy of it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, we will insert that, and I will ask you questions.

STATEMENT BY HAROLD A. LETT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NEW JERSEY URBAN LEAGUE, NEWARK, N. J.

The short-lived effort of the New Jersey Emergency Relief Administration to meet the problem of transiency in 1935–36, served mainly to focus attention of State officials and social agencies upon the several dangers apparent and easily predicted for the future, because of the inadequate remedies available for this national malady. Two studies were made under auspices of the transient bureau of the Administration, and of its State Advisory Board. The first of these was, Negroes on the Road, published in January 1935; and the second, Men in Camp, followed in March 1936, impelled largely by the findings in the first and the obvious need for a more general survey of the whole transient population for purposes of comparison.

The termination of the Emergency Relief Administration also closed the work for transients, with the result that the shifting of public relief from State and Federal supervision to local administration, automatically disrupted the State machinery which had undertaken studies and programs to relieve the situation.

The absence of such machinery, therefore, has deprived agencies interested in this problem of source material giving authentic and adequate data as to the exact nature and extent of migratory movement into the Middle Atlantic States. This statement, therefore, of necessity must confine itself to information gleaned through limited personal observation, and to responses to inquiries from such responsible persons as could be reached in the short time available.

Such studies of migratory movements as are available seem to agree upon certain factors surrounding this national phenomenon:[1]

1. Workers who now migrate across State lines are native Americans and predominantly white.
2. Families appear to form a larger proportion of migrant groups than formerly.
3. Quest for employment and permanent residence seem to be the dominating force, rather than a casual drifting from place to place, as was true early in the depression.

While the foregoing summary is deduced from studies of the national picture, and of all migrant groups, our observations of recent trends among migratory Negroes attracted to this area would classify them as follows:

1. Seasonal workers following a perennial route to the pleasure resorts, agricultural areas and oyster fisheries.
2. Domestic workers recruited by bargaining housewives through the media of fee-seeking employment agencies.
3. Small but steady flow of individuals and family groups joining employed relatives who had preceded them.

The first group would fall within the category of workers migrating from job to job in response to seasonal demands, while those represented in groups 2 and 3 would be classified as migrants seeking permanent relocation.

The general picture of migratory movements in recent years invariably displays the existence of two motivations: The "push" and the "pull" factors. Escape from poverty, low standards of living, unfriendly environment created by nature or dominant human forces, are the "push" factors operating in almost every instance. Real or fancied employment opportunities; ill-considered and poorly interpreted newspaper stories; beckoning of freedom of expression, of education, of movement, are potent "pull" factors.

Of all groups in America, these factors are most pronounced in their appeal to the Negro. Conversely, however, certain checks or counterforces are set in motion and affecting the Negro group to a disproportionate degree, thus keeping the complexion of migratory movement predominantly white. Threats of legal and extra-legal action against those who would leave have been used effectively against Negroes in the South since slavery days. Except in times of labor shortage, general or seasonal, the doors of vocational opportunity are closed to Negro workers, resident as well as transient, thus preventing normal assimilation in the community life. Recent trends in enactment of rigid legal settlement laws have served notice to those who would enter that "those who do not work cannot eat" through denial of public relief. In addition to these deterrents, the Negro particularly is affected by local waves of anti-Negro hysteria which have operated with varying degrees of intensity since the mass migration of the World War and post-war periods. That this hysteria has not embraced the much greater number of white migrants attracted to the area during the same period adds much greater significance to the peculiar problem of the black migrant.

It is in the operation of these counterforces that the real problems of Negro migrants center, springing as they do from local attitudes, and controlled in their implementation only by the degree of local racial feeling extant. Recently, in a New Jersey city, the superintendent of schools refused to accept a Negro child in the elementary system of his town, on the ground that the widowed mother who worked in "service" in an adjoining community was not a resident. She was a registered voter in the school community; had lived with a relative in that town for several years, but the job involved sleeping at the place of service for a portion of her time, and leaving the child in the care of the relative in the first community. Only the more objective action of county and State officials was able to overcome the official zeal of this local official in his official policy of discouraging Negro residence in the community, and lowering the school population.

In many New Jersey communities public-school teachers, board of health and relief bureau workers have exhibited unusual zeal in discouraging the permanent settlement of Negro migrants of an earlier period. A white official of New Jersey reports an effort of Negroes in a small community in northern part of the State to build a church for their religious worship in the town to which industrialists had invited them several years earlier. White residents of that community, by mutual agreement, opposed the movement, and refused to cooperate, hoping by this means to hasten the departure of the Negro residents.

Several New Jersey communities suffering from very poor housing conditions, have refused to participate in the public housing program, mainly because

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[1] Report of Secretary of Labor to U. S. Senate, 1937.

Negroes are confined to the worst housing and it was feared that the erection of modern, sanitary dwellings for this group would attract more Negroes to the communities in question.

An industrial town in central Jersey attracted many Negroes to its brick industries in the World War boom. Those workers settled, as they had hoped, permanently. Within the past 4 years every Negro worker in the local plants has been displaced, white workers employed in their stead, and the hardships imposed upon the Negroes seeking relief are such that many of them, who long ago had lost legal residence elsewhere, are being forced upon the road.

Within the past year, an incident occurred in the south Jersey agricultural area which is reminiscent of Ku Klux Klan activities. A group of colored field hands, imported from the South by an employer for seasonal work, was set upon by white hoodlums. Several men and one woman were stripped, beaten, and their bodies smeared with paint. Although local white workers had refused the work available, this vicious act was to impress the imported Negro workers that they were unwanted. With the aid of defense organizations, the assailants were tried and convicted, but the ridiculous sentences meted out by the local court served only to place the stamp of public approval upon the act.

In view of recurrent experiences such as those cited, it is not strange that the stronger drives of the Negro group are nullified, and that this group is not represented proportionately among the citizens who are on the road.

As indicated previously, the main body of Negro migrants during recent years consists of workers attracted by definite job promises, as follow:

1. Agricultural workers recruited by Pennsylvania and New Jersey employers for harvesting perishable crops such as berries, fruits, and tomatoes, as well as other crops. The perishable nature of the more important money crops, and the low wages paid, create a demand for a tractable, highly mobile body of workers, immune from local property and social ties, and from labor organization threats—hence the annual recruiting and importation of southern Negroes. Housed and supervised during the harvesting season very much in the manner of the southern tenant plan, these workers invariably return to their southern homes at the close of the season, or move on to other places of promise.

Problems involving this group arise from the low wages paid; the creation of racial antagonisms because of unfair labor competition made possible by uncontrolled exploitation; and the reshifting of the workers at the close of the season.

2. Shore, track, and mountain resort workers, and steamship employees, are attracted to this area during summer months, but strangely enough the labor supply seems to have struck a reasonable balance with the demand. Workers of this group include old, seasoned personal service workers who divide their time between southern and northern resorts according to season. The second part of this group consists of Negro college students who are absorbed by hotels and steamship companies in resorts and on waterways serving the area. These workers, in the main, are a completely self-sufficient group and leave behind them practically no problems at their exodus at the season's close.

This work, however, is characterized by unusually low-wage standards and long hours of work. In one of the larger coastal resorts, the bell-boys, elevator operators, and waiters receive from $6 to $10 per week in wages, from which the employer exacts from 50 to 75 cents per day for food usually unfit for human consumption. The worker, who must pay for housing accommodations from his earnings, is forced to rely almost completely upon the uncertainty of "tips." Serious threats to health and moral standards thus exact a heavy toll from people so employed.

3. Oyster fisheries in the Delaware Bay area attract a third group of migratory workers who follow the fisheries along the eastern seaboard. Surrounding this industry can be found the worst examples of rural slums, where row upon row of unsanitary shacks house more or less permanent communities of seasonally employed Negro workers. Here again, low wages and low standard of living subject the migratory workers to the dangers of poor moral and physical health, and to grave racial antagonisms which are reflected in local attitudes.

4. Domestic workers brought to the area by northern vacationists to southern resorts, or sent north by commercial placement agencies, have created many pathetic and serious social problems in communities of this area. Many instances of such workers being summarily dismissed after short terms of employment, have come to the attention of social agencies. One such case exemplifies the worst of the many problems so created.

A New Jersey housewife answered the advertisement of a Virginia employment agency which offered cheap, reliable domestic help. A girl was sent on funds advanced by the agency on payment of an exorbitant fee by the prospective employer. The girl's wages were withheld for 2 months to reimburse the employer, and at the expiration of this time she was dismissed. Having no funds, no references, no health card, no relatives or acquaintances, she was unable to fend for herself. Subsequently she was apprehended by the police for soliciting, having resorted to her only recourse—prostitution. The Urban League was called into the case and routine case work procedure and health examination disclosed a double venereal infection which was being sown broadcast in the community, in her desperation. Appeals to State and Federal Labor departments brought forth the response that no legal remedies for such conditions existed, and the only recourse of the league was to enlist the aid of a local newspaper in publishing articles discouraging such practices.

5. The final group of migrants observed by this representative, is that found in the normal flow of individuals and families to join members of the family group who have preceded them, and had become established. To present a true picture, we must cite also these persons who found the uncertainties of employment in their relatively new northern home to be of such nature that they returned to the southern farm. These cases represent the more or less natural ebb and flow of population induced by family cohesiveness, and of course, constitute a regular but not disproportionate part of routine case loads of public and private agencies.

The almost complete absence of facilities for the care of more unfortunate individuals from the several migratory groups of Negro workers listed, represents the most serious phase of this problem. Only in the great metropolitan centers can be found agencies or institutions providing even temporary care for the stranded migrant. The general pattern is one wherein private and public agencies alike exclude the Negro transient from lodging houses, with usually only a police-station cell available for overnight shelter, whether for man, woman or child. Public relief agencies in larger centers will provide transportation to the legal place of residence for such stranded individuals, provided an agency interested in the individual presses the claim. This service represents about the best the Negro migrant may receive.

TESTIMONY OF HAROLD A. LETT—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been engaged in this field of work?

Mr. LETT. In Newark for 7 years, in the Urban League work for 11 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you more or less familiar with this migratory problem?

Mr. LETT. Yes; more or less.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do the migratory workers come from?

Mr. LETT. You are speaking generally, now?

The CHAIRMAN. Generally.

Mr. LETT. I should say the largest proportion represent persons traveling between the States in the Middle Atlantic area—New York, Pennsylvania—but that a large number come from the Southern States, from Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, following the normal traffic lanes northward.

The CHAIRMAN. Any from Florida and Georgia?

Mr. LETT. I would say some, but I should not imagine that there would be a great many. Unfortunately, statistics dealing with the actual places are very rare, but my personal observation would limit them to the upper section of the Southern States level, the Carolinas.

THE PART EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES PLAY

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have been more or less familiar, then, with the migratory problem for the last 7 years. Is it on the increase or decrease?

Mr. LETT. I think it is on the decrease, as far as general movement is concerned, but there is movement to the degree that there is still a very serious problem, the movement of persons who feel that they are following certain definite promises, seeking definite objectives. I do not believe, so far as my own observation is concerned, that there are as many persons casually traveling, going places.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom do they receive these promises that you mentioned?

Mr. LETT. Newspaper articles which indicate certain spurts in employment in sections, the bids of persons who are seeking workers for seasonal employment, persons who are trying to beat local markets in getting cheap domestic help, mainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you encounter any private employment agencies on the borders that encourage these people?

Mr. LETT. I have known of such agencies in Baltimore and in Virginia.

Mr. PARSONS. Private agencies?

Mr. LETT. Commercial, fee-collecting agencies, who have made a practice of sending domestic workers into this area under very unfortunate circumstances.

Mr. PARSONS. What do they charge them?

Mr. LETT. It varies. I don't believe that I would be able to say definitely. I know of one instance where they charged the first full month's wages, and others will charge higher and others lower.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you know of any private employment agencies that encourage them to migrate into other States regardless of whether there are jobs or not?

Mr. LETT. No; I do not know. I could not say definitely that there is such an agency operating on that plan. I mean, I would have no evidence to that end.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you any migrant camps in New Jersey?

Mr. LETT. Not now.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you have?

Mr. LETT. We did have in 1935 and 1936.

Mr. PARSONS. How many of them?

Mr. LETT. I believe there were three. I know definitely of two, but I think that there were three.

NEGRO MIGRANTS IN NEW JERSEY

Mr. PARSONS. If migrants come into New Jersey, how are they taken care of by any of your agencies?

Mr. LETT. You mean at the present time?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LETT. They are not taken care of as migrants at all in the State now. I mean, the migrant who finds himself stranded finds his only relief generally through some local agency that will take his case. Municipal authorities invariably now refuse to give any help, except emergency help through a private agency to a stranded migrant.

Mr. PARSONS. Are there more colored migrants than whites?

Mr. LETT. I don't think that there are more. I think that there are fewer colored migrants than whites, but being colored they stand out, and New Jersey's attitude toward the migrant is that they think only in terms of migrants being Negroes. I won't say that they think only in terms of Negroes being migrants, but the white migrant is able to assimilate, and he loses his identity. If he does not make a living, he moves on to the next community until he finds a place, but the Negro always stands out as the stranger, and so when we think of migratory terms in New Jersey we think of the Negro.

The CHAIRMAN. What particular type of work attracts the Negro migratory worker?

Mr. LETT. The agricultural work in the central-south area, the fisheries on the Delaware Bay section, the resort section along the shore.

The CHAIRMAN. By agriculture I suppose you mean potato picking?

Mr. LETT. Yes; and berry picking, and tomato, and other perishable crops.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't suppose that you have any personal figures to show the number of migrants coming in?

Mr. LETT. I have learned that in the oyster fisheries—for instance, each year there are from 300 to 600 new persons who come into that section for the oyster fishing season, added to the community which exists there the year round.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any settlement problems there in New Jersey?

Mr. LETT. Legal settlement, on the matter of public relief?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LETT. We have a 5-year legal settlement law, which means that a person seeking public assistance must give proof of having resided in New Jersey for at least 5 years before becoming eligible for relief.

The CHAIRMAN. What becomes of those people who do not comply with the settlement law?

Mr. LETT. They are either left to drift by themselves or for themselves, or they are sent back to the place from which presumably they came. We have had some very serious problems as a result of that, involving persons who have been away from their homes for 3 and 4 years, who are not eligible for relief in New Jersey, and long since have lost their legal residence elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us anything about the housing of these migrants?

Mr. LETT. I can tell of it. I think the sorest point in the whole New Jersey picture is the "shell-pile" community near Port Norris, in southern New Jersey, where the oyster fisheries are located. There we have a community of roughly a thousand Negroes, who are living in the worst imaginable shacks to be found anywhere in the country, out on the sand flats in that fishing area, houses on stilts, water collected underneath them. The only modern improvement they have is electric lights.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the sanitary facilities?

Mr. LETT. Outdoor privies, with chemical disposition of the waste.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that there are about a thousand there?

Mr. LETT. There are about a thousand there that live there the year round, and those same communities must accommodate these migratory workers who come in there every season, from 300 to 600 or 700 of them, who come in, crowding into these same shacks.

The CHAIRMAN. How are they contacted to get them to come there; do you know?

Mr. LETT. I think that by now they have established a pretty regular routine of travel, just like the harvest workers in the West.

These fellows follow up the shores from the Carolinas, Virginia, Baltimore, into New Jersey, with the season.

The CHAIRMAN. They consist of men, women, and children?

Mr. LETT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of children, would you say?

Mr. LETT. According to the present population there, I think about 10 percent of the present population there are children. I checked just within the past 2 weeks to find that there are, roughly, 120 to 125 children in the community now, which means a little better than 10 percent of the population are children.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any medical facilities accorded them or provided them?

Mr. LETT. Yes; the State department of health serves them. I mean that is the one commendable part of the picture, and but for that there would be some very serious health problems there.

The CHAIRMAN. What about education for the children?

Mr. LETT. They have contrived to furnish a little Negro school adjacent to the area, for the primary grades. The older children are going into the community for high-school education.

The CHAIRMAN. What period of time are they employed, those people?

Mr. LETT. Roughly, from September to March.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they remain there the rest of the time?

Mr. LETT. That is right. Most of those who remain go out into the adjoining agricultural areas, and become part of these potato pickers and berry pickers, and other agricultural employment they may seek, and some of the women go into the adjoining communities for domestic service.

The CHAIRMAN. And do the families live in units; that is, a family lives by itself?

Mr. LETT. Yes; with the exception that there is crowding up, that there are people other than family persons living in the same unit, that there is that socially unhealthy situation of strangers being in the family group.

The CHAIRMAN. These are individual shacks, are they?

Mr. LETT. They are individual shacks; they may be tied together, but they are individual units.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, have you anything further to say about the housing conditions of migrants other than the ones you have just described?

Mr. LETT. No; I am not in a position to make any statement as to the housing conditions of the agricultural workers specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, potato pickers?

Mr. LETT. That is what I mean. I have nothing to offer specifically on that, other than an impression and an opinion of very unsatisfactory housing conditions for them.

THE HOUSING OF NEGRO MIGRANTS

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, the housing conditions are a problem. Is there any other problem that is there among the migrant workers?

Mr. LETT. There is a problem which affects the Negro to a much greater degree than any other migratory worker. As I indicated a moment ago, being a Negro, he is looked upon as an alien for a long.

long time, and that means that there are always the very serious racial relations created by the unthinking employer, who brings a large number of workers into a community, gives them very poor facilities for living, gives them no opportunities for expression, for social expression other than that employment, and when he has finished with them he releases them upon the community to shift for themselves. Invariably, we find a great intensification of racial antagonisms, which carry over to affect those persons who have shown some indication of being permanent fixtures in the community and actually are living as part of that community.

I mean that unthinking employer thereby creates a situation which makes it much more difficult for any other Negro to become an active, living part of that community, and that sharpening of racial antagonism thereby carries over in a broader way, making it harder for people to live as human beings.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the way you describe these shacks, it is really a segregated district, isn't it?

Mr. LETT. Oh, definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a barrier there?

Mr. LETT. Yes. The interesting part in the Port Norris district is that on an adjoining bit of land we find a community which is largely white. They are separated by a little strip of water.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the whites migrants, too?

Mr. LETT. They were at one time, and they have become as much a permanent part of the community as the thousand Negroes that are there, but they are still aliens to the general community, and they also are segregated. We are finding now a degree of understanding existing between these Negro migrants and the white migrants that has expressed itself in their labor organization, and the officering of their labor organization, and they are working together in their community against what they are forced to conclude is their common enemy, the stable element in the larger community, from which they are segregated.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you to say as to the general health conditions of the Negro migrants there?

Mr. LETT. I would say it is only a miracle, and the constant supervision of the State department of health, that has prevented that one community from becoming a very serious health threat to the entire south Jersey section. There is a constant threat of typhoid, a constant threat of malaria, and constant threat of tuberculosis, and from what I can gather, a rather high pneumonia rate.

The death rate has not been reflected as extremely high, but there is a high incidence of disease.

The CHAIRMAN. What about venereal diseases?

Mr. LETT. That is being handled by the laws which call for health examination and treatment for venereal diseases.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The CHAIRMAN. Now, from what you have said, or stated here, have you any suggestions to make?

Mr. LETT. A general suggestion that would call for increased Federal supervision of the migratory problem, with a limiting of State autonomy in that regard, a release of Federal funds handled on somewhat the same basis as Social Security funds to care for a national problem.

The usual picture of one State disavowing responsibility because an individual has not lived in that State long enough, and the other State disavowing responsibility because the individual has been out too long, certainly places that individual within the realm of treatment by the Federal Government.

And I think that the only way that the migratory problem will be handled with any intelligence at all will be through increased Federal supervision and Federal funds, handled, if you please, by the States, with very definite understanding such as prevails in Social Security, because I think that there is involved there the inalienable right of an American citizen to escape that which is depriving him of his freedom of expression as is in the case of most migrants, the right of an American citizen to seek that which offers him life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that anything which would curtail that movement and limit that freedom of movement of an American citizen certainly would be a step in a very dangerous direction.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you feel this, that you are a citizen of the State of New Jersey, but you are also a citizen of the other 47 States in the Union.

Mr. LETT. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the Constitution? That is the way you feel?

Mr. LETT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you feel that when you go into another State, that you should not be treated as an outcast, is that right?

Mr. LETT. That is exactly right.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Parsons, do you have any questions?

Mr. PARSONS. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT LAFFERTY, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR OF ATTENDANCE, SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA, BOARD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Lafferty, state your name and place of residence, and your position or connection, for the benefit of the record.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Robert F. Lafferty, 849 South Fifty-seventy Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Assistant director of attendance, Philadelphia public schools.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you submitted a statement to the committee?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I have, sir.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. LAFFERTY, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR—SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA, THE BOARD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

In Philadelphia we have been working on this problem for a good many years. As far back as May 25, 1928, there was a conference held in Philadelphia, at which were present representatives from the Bureau of Women and Children, Department of Labor and Industry, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Department of Labor and Industry, State of New Jersey; public schools of Philadelphia, parochial schools of Philadelphia; and Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. A statement was made at this meeting showing there were 1,920 children in Philadelphia County who lost time from school because they, or their families, were migratory agricultural workers.

The children were born in this country in a majority of cases, but of foreign-born parents, approximately 96 percent of the parents being Italian. Children were under 14 years of age in a majority of cases. Almost all of these children went to the country with their parents and 95 percent of these children went to New Jersey. These children did not go to the country just because their parents went but 94 percent of the children actually worked while they were in the country. At that time this work was legal in the State of New Jersey because the children were not employed at the time the New Jersey schools were in session. I do not know whether this has been changed or not. Thirty-one percent of the 1,920 children were employed in canneries. Eighty percent of the children lost more than one month of school attendance and nearly 20 percent lost 3 months or more. Most of these children did not attend school in New Jersey because, at that time the rural schools in New Jersey were closed for the summer session. Only 6 percent of them reported attending any school while in the country. Some of the children lost 4 months or more. Of this group, one-third attended school in the country in New Jersey, but two-thirds had no schooling. Sixty-four percent of the migratory children were over-age for their school grade. This information was secured by the teachers from the pupils when they returned to the Philadelphia schools.

One of the Philadelphia officials at the conference reported at that time that he had wide experience to show that a great many of his children were retarded in their school work. Some became behavior problems, having lost so much time from school they became discouraged because they were too big and too old for the grade. Some of the children had told their teachers they did not want to go but were compelled to go by their parents. Girls especially did not want to go. They claim they come back from the country with hair like hay, hands like stevedores, and their complexions ruined.

The State authorities of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Philadelphia school authorities held a conference in Trenton in 1916. Both the departments of labor and industry and the departments of instruction of both States were represented.

In 1915 a bill was introduced in the legislature in Pennsylvania which made it lawful to accept this State for employment, children who, under the laws of the neighboring State, were required to attend school. This same bill was introduced in the New Jersey legislature. The New Jersey law was not passed. The Pennsylvania law succeeded in passing both the House and the Senate, but, for technical reasons, was vetoed by the Governor. We feel it useless for Pennsylvania to pass laws unless the same law is enacted in New Jersey.

Miss Moore, who represented the State of New Jersey at the conference held in 1928, said that some of the school districts in her State took in some of the children who stayed longer but they, of course, could not establish schools for temporary residents. Miss Moore further reported the cranberry bogs seem anxious to get education of the children. The State of New Jersey, of course, consider these children residents of the State of Pennsylvania.

Personally, I do not feel that legislation in any one State would help the Philadelphia children. It would have to include the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

Comparing the figure given of 1,929 children in the year 1928 I would say for the year ending June 1939, this number was reduced to 806 children. This, I feel, is in a measure due to the fact that many of these families are on the relief and when the relief is discontinued, for the time they are in the country working, they claim they have a difficult time getting back on the relief rolls. Our policy, in Philadelphia, has always been to excuse children, lawfully, who have gone to the country with their entire families, but where one or the other of the parents still maintain their home in Philadelphia, we insist that the children who have gone to New Jersey without their parents are out of school unlawfully, and in some cases we have prosecuted the parents for violation of the attendance laws of the State of Pennsylvania and compel them to return the children to their proper homes and to their proper schools.

Philadelphia school authorities are also concerned with the problem of migrant children from the South coming to Philadelphia to make their homes in the city. They are referred to as nonresident children. It is estimated, in June 1940, that there are six or seven thousand of these children who have come from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama whose parents have not accompanied them to the city. In some instances the parents died and the children are sent to this city to live with relatives or friends. In many cases the parents sent their children to Philadelphia because they believe they will have better social and educational opportunities than they have in their own homes in the South. The homes to which they are sent in this city are not always adequate and the supervision of children not always adequate or competent. I am not sure that the Tolan committee was appointed to consider this phase of child welfare. I do feel, however, that problem presented by these children from the South is big enough and serious enough to warrant a survey by the special committee.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. LAFFERTY—Resumed

Mr. Parsons. Shall we ask some questions with reference to that statement, so that you can make a kind of a general summary of it?

Mr. Lafferty. I would be glad for you to ask questions.

Mr. Parsons. Has it been your observation that children who left the Philadelphia schools, to go to the country with their parents, went merely because their parents were going, or because the children were going to work with the parents?

Mr. Lafferty. I would say both. Usually, of course, the children must follow their parents.

MIGRATION INCLUDES SCHOOL CHILDREN

Mr. Parsons. How large a migration have you noticed in your observations there, of the number of school children involved?

Mr. Lafferty. Well, covering a period of years, my first data goes back to 1928, at which time 1,920 children left the schools of Philadelphia as migratory children.

Going through the years—I only have figures for certain years—in 1935, it dropped to 908, and in 1936, it "upped" to 1,033; in 1937 it dropped to 750; in 1938 it "upped" again to 1,215; and in 1939, 806, and for the current term just closed in June, 887.

Now, of that last report, there were 523 families, taking with them 887 children.

Mr. Parsons. They were all workers in seasonal employment?

Mr. Lafferty. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. As fruit pickers, and potato pickers, and berry pickers, and mostly agricultural workers?

Mr. Lafferty. And working in the canneries, yes sir.

Mr. Parsons. What has been your experience with these children who have suffered a great deal of loss of time? About how much time of the school term have they on an average lost?

Mr. Lafferty. It varies from 1 month, to in some cases, 4 months. The results have been not at all good. The children are retarded; they come back, of course, the picture of health. I don't know anything about the living conditions. I only know about the academic qualifications, and when they come back, as I stated, they have missed their June examinations. Some come back as late as the early part of November, and some in October, but the majority in September, after the class has been established. They cause some friction, putting them in the different classes where they belong, and on the whole it does not have a good effect on the children of Philadelphia.

Mr. Parsons. Are these children colored or white or both?

Mr. Lafferty. Mostly white.

Mr. Parsons. Of foreign-born families?

Mr. Lafferty. Yes. The 1928 study showed that 96 percent of the children's parents were born in Italy.

Mr. Parsons. Ninety-six percent of these migrant children?

Mr. Lafferty. The parents, the majority of the children were born in the United States.

Mr. PARSONS. And are American citizens?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. And subject, of course, to your school laws of Pennsylvania?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Exactly so.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your school law, very briefly, on attendance?

Mr. LAFFERTY. The school law requires a child to attend school between the ages of 8 and 17, with the exception that a child between 16 and 17 may leave school upon securing the proper employment certificate, or a child may be excused who is mentally ill or physically ill.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the penalty if they did not obtain it?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Two dollars fine and $3.50 costs for the first offense, and $5 fine and $3.50 costs for subsequent offenses.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that day by day or by school term or week or month?

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is day by day, daily attendance is taken.

Mr. PARSONS. Is there any way that these children can make up this time, or does the seasonal employment come at a time when it takes them over the last month or so of school terms in the spring, and maybe the first month or two of the fall term? How does that work out?

MIGRATION OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN FROM PHILADELPHIA

Mr. LAFFERTY. I do not know how the other States could meet that. For example, here are figures showing where the children went: To New Jersey, Burlington County, 753; Atlantic County, 158; Camden County, 157; Gloucester County, 140; Salem County, 114; and other counties, 1,101; the State of Delaware, 27; other parts of Pennsylvania, 27; and other States, 2; no report on 118; making up the total of—I first gave you that—1,920 children.

In answer to that I also would say that the children leave the city of Philadelphia at the time the rural schools close. The rural schools close in April, or certainly the early part of May, and the State of New Jersey, I know from a conference in 1928, look upon these children as nonresident children.

Mr. PARSONS. And, of course, they are not subject to the laws, to the school laws of New Jersey, if they have them, and really not subject to attend the public schools in the State of Pennsylvania, since they are not residents of that State.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Exactly so. We do—may I add this, sir, we do take the stand that parents cannot send their children during the school term unless the parents themselves go; and, in other words, unless they close their homes and move temporarily to another State, we hold the parents responsible in the courts, and we have been sustained by the courts in that action in the past.

Mr. PARSONS. In Pennsylvania?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Has that been used in the last few years upon the parents who so migrate?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes; it has.

Mr. PARSONS. Has it obtained any satisfactory results?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes; it has. What we generally do is to pick out a community and select several families, and give them due notice in writing, insisting that they return their children to school. And then, in due course, we prosecute.

Now, so far this year, it was only necessary to prosecute five families, and that had a pretty good effect.

Mr. PARSONS. How much, if you know—have you made an investigation to ascertain how much these children augment the revenue to the family when they go on these excursions?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I cannot answer that.

Mr. PARSONS. It does contribute, however, to no little part of that family income if it has four or five children?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I would say, "Yes"; but I could not give you any idea of the amount.

Mr. PARSONS. And the family needs that revenue?

Mr. LAFFERTY. In some instances they do.

Mr. PARSONS. And in most instances I should think they would need it.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your suggestion to cure that evil? Could it be done with direct relief by the State, the city, and the State itself, to be used as an incentive to the parents to leave those children at home, where they can be kept in school? What is your suggestion on that manner of trying to handle that problem?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I would say as far back as 1915 the State of Pennsylvania enacted a law forbidding children to be employed in agriculture or any other type of work during the time the schools were in session.

The State of New Jersey itself had similar legislation proposed, but it failed to pass.

The State of Pennsylvania put its law through, but the Governor vetoed it because of some technical reasons, and what they are I am not sure. We have been working with this on and on and on, and I think one reason for the reduction of which I gave the figures is that the parents are beginning to understand that the children are losing so much valuable time from school they put forth more effort to keep the children in school, and I think another very, very good reason is the fact that the parents are on relief, and when they go off relief they have a pretty hard time to get back, they tell us. I think both of those are prime factors.

Mr. PARSONS. How does this migration problem of absence from school compare with the regular residents of your city in sending their children to school? Is your school law rigidly enforced?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Pretty much so; yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. You don't have a great deal of truancy?

Mr. LAFFERTY. No.

Mr. PARSONS. In the city of Philadelphia, from the other people, other than these migrants?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Not a great deal; no, sir. We have in Philadelphia 260,000 public-school children and 90,000 parochial-school children, and we give the Catholic schools the same service of attendance that we give the others. The average absence from school is about 8 percent per day, not due to truancy or illegal employment but due to personal illness in the family, quarantine, or possibly a subpena to court. They are the major causes.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you been studying this problem long enough to know just how far these migrant children advance in the public schools before they are grown and leave to work for themselves?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I would say the average made normal progress until that retardation set in, and I also note from actual experience that quite a few of these children are delinquent. It is easily understood, of course, because they are big fellows and they are discouraged—13 or 14 years old—in with children maybe 6 or 7 or 8, and become truants very, very quickly.

Mr. PARSONS. They probably will not cover more than one grade in 2 or 3 years.

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Because of the retardation?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Naturally, they are grown by the time that they reach the fourth or fifth grade?

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. And probably if they can find a job, out at work at that time, and never go back to school again as a result, they get no high-school education?

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is very true.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, these children on the whole have considerable native ability?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I say they have average ability. One of the handicaps of those children is that when they are so retarded we have to place them in our special classes, because they can't keep up with the regular group, and that has a come-back later because the average employer does not want to employ a boy from a special class, so in that way it really works a hardship on the youngster.

Mr. PARSONS. It works a hardship both ways?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Up until 25 years ago, of course, high-school graduation was not required of the ordinary average worker.

Mr. LAFFERTY. No.

Mr. PARSONS. And today, and I should say the next decade to come, no one can obtain a position of any kind except at the most menial labor unless they are high-school graduates?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes, sir. We have figures to show that you are exactly right.

Mr. PARSONS. And even in the skills, and other industries, it is not more than a decade away until they must be college graduates to be employed?

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. And in that respect these people will never be able to engage in anything else other than the most menial labor, is that the way you look at it?

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is exactly my position.

Mr. PARSONS. What suggestions do you have that might help to remedy this situation?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I would say as regards Philadelphia, the only suggestion that I could make is that it is useless for one State to pass legislation affecting these children without similar action by the four States combined, which would be the States of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. I would say that the real way to approach it is by Federal legislation.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, of course, Congress cannot pass legislation for the conduct of a thing wholly within the State, and we could only reach it if we legislated at all in a matter affecting interstate migration or interstate commerce in human individuals.

Of course, we might be able to work out some phases of legislation that might touch to a certain extent this problem, but so far as the educational features of it are concerned, I see no way in which the Federal Government could enact legislation.

From what you have mentioned, it would seem to be a better plan for compacts between the States, or, in other words, reciprocal agreements between States with similar legislation, and in that case the States might be able to handle the problem pretty much themselves.

But unless there is a make-up, or the restoration of that deficit in the family budget, I cannot see where we could stop that problem.

What suggestions do you have to make along that line, from a financial standpoint?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I haven't any.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you suggest the Federal Government give grants-in-aid to the States; provide for such occasions as that?

Mr. LAFFERTY. No; I would not go that far; no, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you studied the settlement laws of Pennsylvania and surrounding States?

Mr. LAFFERTY. No.

Mr. PARSONS. We have had several witnesses here that touched upon that subject, and we have had one or two that suggested the abandonment of settlement laws, and we have had others who have argued for uniformity of settlement laws. You have not studied that problem at all enough to be an authority about it?

Mr. LAFFERTY. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Is there anything else that you think of that you would like to add to this?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I would like to add this, if it be in order—may I read this page? This is on your paper.

> Philadelphia school authorities are also concerned with the problem of migrant children in the South who come to Philadelphia to make their homes in the city. They are referred to as nonresident children.
>
> It is estimated in June of 1940 that there are six or seven thousand of these children who have come from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, whose parents have not accompanied them to the city. In some instances the parents die and the children are sent to the city to live with relatives and friends. In many cases the parents send their children to Philadelphia because they believe they will have better social and educational opportunities than they would have in their own homes in the South. The homes to which they are sent in the city of Philadelphia are not always adequate and the supervision of the children not always adequate or competent.
>
> I am not sure that the Tolan committee was appointed to consider this phase of child welfare. I do feel that the problem presented by these children from the South is big enough and serious enough to warrant a survey by some special committee.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, your discussion of the problem has contributed a great deal to the committee. For 25 years I was connected with the educational system in my State, either as a pupil, student, teacher, or superintendent. I used to know a little bit of something about truancy, and the effect that it had upon the children in the rural sections and in the towns and cities, and I assume that it is pretty much the same all over the country.

There are some States, however, that began a good many years ago to enforce the truancy laws, and it has only been in the last quarter of a century that they were really enforced in the State of Illinois. In most States, however, it is being enforced now.

As I said in the beginning, I cannot see any way of stopping the migration of them, except by force, unless something is done to augment the family income.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Lafferty, I just want to ask you one question. On Saturday, coming through New Jersey, I remember one place we stopped where a good many migrant laborers from the city of Philadelphia were used, and we were told that they were Italian workers, and so apparently they are the same group that you described there.

In this matter of school attendance, which was discussed, we were told at that time that on two different occasions, classroom tests were made by the teachers or supervisors to determine whether or not the loss of that time from school hurt the pupils' records, and that as a matter of fact in both tests those pupils who had lost the time in the spring and even lost some, probably in the fall, outstripped the other members of the class.

Now, as I gather from your statement, that is not in keeping with the record?

Mr. LAFFERTY. I am very much surprised to hear that. My figures are not as a result of tests but actual contacts with the children's teachers. They have the children 5 hours a day, 6 days a week, or 5 days a week. They are in personal contact with those children, and they have told me, and they have told our workers, that it seriously interferes with progress in school.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That would certainly be my thought, and that is your conclusion as a result of your experience?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Absolutely.

Mr. PARSONS. In that respect, of course, these children around in other States coming in contact with other communities and other people outside of their own neighborhood, learn to do some things with their hands and with their minds that the children of similar age do not do in Philadelphia. They get an opportunity to develop some of their native abilities, that maybe the children in Philadelphia do not have an opportunity for, so that, depending upon the kind of a test that was given, they might in some ways be superior in a test to the children in Philadelphia, but from the standpoint of acquisition of knowledge from the printed page, of course they would be retarded somewhat?

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is my experience, and may I say, too, I don't know whether I said before or not, we do not enforce that 100 percent. If we have a big fellow 16 years old who is in a special class, probably with a mentality of a child of 8 or 9, just waiting for the compulsory age to expire, and he goes to New Jersey or any other State, we do not bring any pressure to bring him back, because we feel he is doing better work there than he would in a classroom where he is only filling in time.

Mr. PARSONS. That is true, because he would be discouraged, and would not pick up the work, and he would be embarrassed and that would interfere somewhat with his learning.

That has a great effect upon some children.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. I have seen the older ones in school, entirely out of step with the group in their grade, and they seldom seem to do well unless they discipline themselves and hold themselves to it, and very few of them are able to do that.

Mr. LAFFERTY. That is very true.

Mr. PARSONS. And you believe that children ought to do some little work and chores, and learn the things around the home, that will fit them to take care of themselves, when they grow up, both boys and girls?

Mr. LAFFERTY. Very definitely.

Mr. PARSONS. You do not share the idea that some people have that the child should be raised up to 21 or 22 years of age without ever having tasted of the experiences of real life and real living?

Mr. LAFFERTY. No, sir. I believe in meeting the situation as it arises.

Mr. PARSONS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Lafferty.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Mr. Edwards.

TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR J. EDWARDS, MONTCLAIR, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name, please, Mr. Edwards.

Mr. EDWARDS. I am Arthur J. Edwards, of Montclair, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity do you appear here, Mr. Edwards?

Mr. EDWARDS. I appear here at the invitation of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. But how do you fit into the picture?

Mr. EDWARDS. Supposedly because I am a member of one of our denominational, Congregational-Christian Churches committees. Specifically, I am the chairman of the subcommittee on migrant child labor of the New Jersey area of the Middle Atlantic conference of the Christian and Congregational Churches. This subcommittee on migrant child labor has only been in existence for some 60 days. I presume that I have some ability as an investigator and that from my accumulation of correspondence and reports on this general subject in 60 days, I have a somewhat encyclopedic knowledge of the situation, not from first-hand knowledge but from reports of one kind and another to which I can give reference for any statement that I may happen to make.

This Committee for Social Action would possibly need some explanation, and I find it coming out of some articles in the Survey Mid-Monthly for July of 1940.

"Social action is legally permissible action by a group (or by an individual trying to promote group action) for the purpose of furthering objectives that are both legal and socially desirable." As a committee, we generally carry back what information we acquire to the members of our churches, and in exceptional situations we are authorized to intercede on our own authority.

We rather belatedly undertook support of the child-labor law, which was put through in New Jersey this year, and contributed our mite to that. That is a very important law, I think, and has a bearing on this situation. I might just read some of these file envelope titles:

"New Jersey migrant labor contracts," and the "general situation," "Relations with the State officials and with the National Child-Labor Committee;" "Housing and Federal housing aids;" "Family placement service;" and "Child labor, an agricultural situation."

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you—probably I can direct you along this line—to keep to our subject as much as we can.

Mr. EDWARDS. May I ask whether the committee has defined a "destitute citizen"?

The CHAIRMAN. No. The committee has not defined anything yet. We are trying to get the definitions from you people, and then we will make the final definition.

Mr. EDWARDS. That is because we come in contact with migrants of all grades of poverty and ordinary "well-to-do-ness."

The CHAIRMAN. We will come to that.

When did you first become interested in this migrant problem?

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, I am generally interested in these things, but so far as specific interests, which have caused me to inquire into it, I would say around the first of this year——

The CHAIRMAN. Are you conversant with New Jersey conditions from the standpoint of the migrant problem?

Mr. EDWARDS. I am, insofar as I have acquired it from official and other reports on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea of the number of destitute migrant citizens coming into this State from other States, the approximate number?

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, now, all migrants—let me start out on another angle. New Jersey is an extraordinary State in that it is the forty-fifth State in the Union in area, and it is the fourth State in the Union in the acreage which is devoted to truck farming, and small vegetables, and that kind of agriculture. The small truck farms, and so forth, seem to run along quite comfortably during the planting season and the ordinary cultivation season with the local labor, and I include potatoes in that, but when it comes to the harvest season, there is a tremendous peak in the labor requirement, and they have to call in laborers from other States, and it is from that angle that I have been particularly interested.

New Jersey does need this labor, and our inquiry has been to the point of asking whether they had been treated with reasonable consideration which they should, as guests of the State, so to speak, receive, in the matter of housing, sanitation, labor-contract conditions, and such.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about the housing. What do you say about the housing of migrants?

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, I have not seen a good word for it in any of the reports.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not seen what?

Mr. EDWARDS. I have not seen a good word for the housing. I have a Federal report here, which I suppose may be taken as a text for all of them.

This is a migrant farm labor pamphlet by the Government Printing Office, Farm Security Administration. [Reading:]

> How the migrants live (on page 7, New Jersey): Housing consists of crude barracks, particularly in the cranberry bogs, designed to house 10 to 30 families, absolutely no comforts or conveniences, no bathing or laundry facilities.

That is from an official United States pronouncement on the subject, and possibly as severe as any of those that do appear.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about yourself. Did you ever visit any of these?

Mr. EDWARDS. No; I say frankly that my knowledge is acquired from the reports. I have pretty good ability to absorb reports, and judge their accuracy, and I have intended to go down during the summer. As yet, the occasion has not required.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think about the health condition among these migrants?

Mr. EDWARDS. The sanitary conditions under which they live are reported very, very poor. The health conditions under such circumstances seem to be pretty good, considering their handicaps. There are certain types of migrants, particularly the Negroes, that have a surprisingly high incidence of syphilis, and personally I don't see why that is not a menace to the State generally.

The CHAIRMAN. The record discloses as high as 33⅓ percent.

Mr. EDWARDS. I conferred with an expert of the Social Hygiene Association on that matter, and he says that the percentage reported is higher than is typical of that particular grade of farm labor throughout the South generally, indicating that, as is natural, we are getting the worst of the selection, in those that are brought from the farthest away.

The CHAIRMAN. Is anything being done about the health condition to correct it?

Mr. EDWARDS. Nothing by way of selection, but I think that there is a definite movement among State authorities. I think there is now, in cooperation with Federal authorities, for the actual treatment of those who are found infected, but nothing like health inspection to people that come into our State by means of interstate transport.

The CHAIRMAN. Is anything being done to improve the housing conditions of the migrants?

Mr. EDWARDS. Nothing that I know of. We have a very strange situation. I wish that I had been here to hear the report of some of the New Jersey officials, for fear I may do them an injustice, but according to one report they made investigations 10 years ago, and, as a matter of fact, according to the letter which I have from another State official, another was made 4 years ago, and that report has not been made public, and now it seems set back several months on account of additional facts, and there is now a State committee trying to get together on a State program. That is a matter of great concern to me, because I have not as yet gone down to Trenton to try to figure out whether this is a part of the functioning of a department of circumlocution, or whether they are just studying hard on the problem and don't want to be premature in the announcement of ideas and plans.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you consider the migrant problem a real one in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. EDWARDS. I do. I consider it a problem which should give us concern. May I ask if this foreword of Frank Kingdon, which is in this book, the Jersey Joads, has been entered in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think so.

Mr. EDWARDS. If not, I will tear this out of my copy and enter it, because Frank Kingdon was the president of the University of Newark, and he is an outstanding citizen of the State, and anything that he says unquestionably should bear weight.

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you say Frank Kingdon is?

Mr. EDWARDS. He was formerly president of the University of Newark, though in this foreword he is introduced as president of the University.

The CHAIRMAN. But you, being a witness here, confirm what he says in here as far as your investigation is concerned?

Mr. EDWARDS. So far as my investigation from the various sources to which I have had reference.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he says:

> This pamphlet contains some facts—unpleasant facts—about certain working conditions in New Jersey. To refuse to face them is folly. To resent them is natural, but resentment of them will mean little unless we set about curing them. The story is one of human beings. Therefore none of us can close our hearts and minds to it.
>
> John Steinbeck has stirred the conscience of our whole country with his tragic story of the Joads. But here is an account of people in our own State as hapless as the Joads. What shall we do?
>
> The answer will have to go deeper than condemnation of the perpetrators of the outrages described here. They are victims of their circumstances just as the outraged are. The whole pitiful tale is one of social inadequacy; and it can be corrected only by social action on a broad scale.
>
> No State can tolerate such a situation as this account unfolds without eventually having to pay a heavy price in crime, in fear, and in disease. I believe that the citizens of New Jersey have the courage to face these facts and the intelligence to forestall their potential harvest of bitter tragedy. For the dignity of our State I beg my fellow citizens to read this pamphlet and to plan its cure.

Now, I take it in that pamphlet there he sets out the conditions which he claims are pitiful in the State of New Jersey; is that right?

Mr. EDWARDS. That is the way I understand it. Now, that is a foreword to a specific incident, but as I read that, his condemnation of conditions extends beyond any limited territory, or any specific instance.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see that pamphlet that you have there.

Mr. EDWARDS. New Jersey is rather sensitive about these things, but I am willing to stick out my neck just a little bit in an endeavor to secure a wider understanding of them, and my particular hope in this matter is that by checking over all of these official reports we may find places in the procedure where the private citizen may step in as of right, or may step in merely as an influential party, in trying to get official factors together because I do see possibilities in the situation.

I did not come here Monday because yesterday I testified before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, on the Burke-Wadsworth bill. I take an interest in these things, and there are times when I get sufficiently aroused to take the time off and try to fit the pieces together into some kind of an answer which will help.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Edwards, have you read this pamphlet?

Mr. EDWARDS. I have; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of your own knowledge regarding any of these instances?

Mr. EDWARDS. I know to the extent—will you turn to the last page there? Is there a newspaper clipping?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't find it.

Mr. EDWARDS. Anyway, the particular incident in there, that is a pamphlet published by—may I see the publisher—this pamphlet is published by the Workers Defense League, an organization which ordinarily does not look to persons of my business connection for very much support.

On the other hand, I think that they stepped into a situation there that needed, on the ground, backing and punch to put it through, and did a darned good job.

I don't know any of them, and I don't know as this particular incident enters into this investigation, although migratory labor was involved in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Edwards, would you have any objection to us retaining this copy or putting it in the record?

Mr. EDWARDS. None whatsoever. It is one of the things which you can pick off the newsstands, and in that way it is a part of the record which the public itself is making.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to be the story of New Jersey, on the migrant problem—"Jersey Joads."

(This document was received by the committee and was not printed.)

Mr. EDWARDS. It relates to a single incident, but out of that comes certain generalities, on the last page, with most of which I would agree, though some of them are out of line with my own solutions.

May I ask, Mr. Chairman, has this book been put in the record, A Summer in the Country? If not, I will speak about it.

Has there been a representative of the National Child Labor Committee before you?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I don't think so.

Mr. EDWARDS. This book, A Summer in the Country, was prepared by the National Child Labor Committee, which I think is probably one of the most experienced and level-headed organizations dealing in a large way with child labor the country over. This book is devoted in its entirety to the migrant situation in New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Just give the title.

Mr. EDWARDS. You can have this one, and in the matter of a great many of these things, I would be willing to accept practically at face value the statements which they make therein, because of my knowledge of the National Child Labor Committee.

A SUMMER IN THE COUNTRY

(National Child Labor Committee, New York City)

The field work on which this report is based was carried on in New Jersey by Mr. Charles E. Gibbons, Mr. James E. Sidel, and Miss Gertrude Binder, and in Philadelphia by Mr. Gibbons and Miss Frances Stein.

The report was edited by Miss Binder.

FOREWORD

During recent years there has been a tremendous increase in the number of transient workers seeking to earn a living in commercialized agriculture. Displaced sharecroppers, Dust Bowl refugees, and unemployed industrial workers have supplanted the old-fashioned hobo and entered into competition with professional fruit and vegetable tramps for the meager income with which work in the harvest fields in rewarded. As a result, public attention has been focused on the phenomenon of migrancy, and much has been written, especially about the nomads of the West. It is not generally realized, however, that similar although less dramatic conditions exist in the truck-farming areas of the East.

The seasonal workers of the agricultural regions of New Jersey, who are the subject of this study, move to the fields from nearby metropolitan centers each summer. They are not migrants in the same sense as are the completely unattached transients of the West. They leave their homes in the spring and return to them when there is no more work to be done in the fields. But the movement of families always creates a complex set of social problems. The employment of all individuals, of both sexes and all ages, makes possible the payment of extremely low wages. Living quarters are only euphemistically described as housing, available welfare services are nonexistent, and children are deprived of much of their schooling.

The investigation, the results of which are reported in this pamphlet, was carried out by the National Child Labor Committee for the purpose of ascertaining the extent to which nonresident children are used as workers in New Jersey agriculture. It sought to bring up to date the picture presented in 1931 by the report of the official New Jersey Commission to Investigate the Employment of Migratory Children. No action had been taken on the excellent recommendations made by that commission, although 7 years had elapsed since its report was presented to the legislature, and although the long continuance of the business depression and industrial unemployment gave reason to believe that conditions among migrants might be worse and the number of families affected greater.

This study was made during the summer and fall of 1938. During the summer observations were made of working and living conditions in practically every important producing area of New Jersey. In the fall 251 families were visited in their homes in Philadelphia and a schedule of definite information as to summer work and experience was secured. The data thus obtained form the statistical basis for this report.

Additional material from which the age-grade study was compiled was furnished by the Philadelphia school authorities. The liberal cooperation of Henry J. Gideon, director of the division of compulsory education, greatly facilitated the entire investigation.

NEW JERSEY: AN AGRICULTURAL STATE

New Jersey farms have for years produced most of the fresh fruits and vegetables consumed in the Atlantic seaboard cities and utilized in eastern canneries. In 1937[1] the State stood fourth among those which devote a large proportion of their land to the raising of truck crops. The total truck-farming area under cultivation, amounting to 154,530 acres, was practically the same as that of Florida, three-fifths that of Texas, and about a third that of California.

This New Jersey land was divided among the important market crops as follows: Sweet corn, 24,000 acres; string beans, 13,360 acres; tomatoes, 12,000 acres; asparagus, 11,000 acres; cabbage, 6,300 acres; peppers, 6,000 acres; cantaloup, lima beans, cucumbers, onions, peas, spinach, each with between 3,000 and 4,000 acres; beets, carrots, cauliflower, eggplant, celery, lettuce, each with less than 2,000 acres. There were also 10,200 acres in lima beans and 32,800 acres in tomatoes for canning or manufacture. In addition to the truck crops, New Jersey in 1937 grew 56,000 acres of Irish potatoes, 17,000 acres of sweetpotatoes, 4,000 acres of strawberries, and 11,000 acres of cranberries.

In the same year the cash income from truck crops and potatoes amounted to $19,578,000, and from strawberries, cranberries, peaches, and apples, $6,416,000—a total of nearly $26,000,000.

Truck farming and fruit culture are highly intensive and require a much greater amount of labor per acre than does general grain farming. For preparing the soil, planting, and cultivating, power machinery has done much to reduce the need for human labor. Men are needed to operate the machines, to weed, and to hoe; but the bulk of this work is done by farm laborers employed on a monthly basis and living in the country throughout the year.

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[1] Information as to acreage and crop income is found in Crops and Markets, published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, December 1937.

It is primarily in the harvesting phase of truck and fruit farming that extra labor is needed. Harvesting is done almost wholly by hand, and packing and sorting largely so. Machines are used for some packing and sorting operations, but as yet no machine has been found to gather string beans, lima beans, peas, tomatoes, strawberries, raspberries, or cranberries, to cut and bunch asparagus, or to pull and top onions, beets, and carrots.

THE SOURCE OF THE MOBILE LABOR SUPPLY

In New Jersey, as in most truck-farming regions, there is not sufficient local labor to meet the needs of the harvest, and people come from the nearby industrial centers, chiefly Philadelphia, to work on the crops. There are probably about a thousand families who migrate to southern New Jersey from Philadelphia, Camden, Trenton, and nearby rural areas.

Unlike the migrants of the West, these workers do not wander long distances, directed only by the hope of employment. They leave their city homes in the spring for a definite locality and return to them in the fall, seldom traveling more than 100 miles. Furthermore, they generally do not have their own means of transportation, nor do they carry with them their entire possessions. The farmers or padrones carry them to and from their work, and families take with them only such goods as are absolutely necessary for their stay in the country. In the past, when earnings were higher, some of the migrant workers eventually became independent farmers, owning or renting New Jersey farm land, and themselves employing migrant labor.

While almost all of these workers are of Italian descent, the children are American-born, and many belong to the third generation of families who have been going to Jersey to do agricultural work. A few of the parents are not able to speak English fluently, but the difficulty on this score is almost negligible. English is the language of the children and is rapidly becoming the only language in the home.

Those who go to New Jersey to do seasonal work may be divided into two groups: Those who follow agriculture from choice and evince little interest in industrial pursuits, and those who go intermittently, turning to farm work only when employment opportunities in the cities fail.

The former group is made up of families who depend almost entirely upon agriculture for a living, endeavoring to earn enough during the summer and fall to carry them through the year. In this they are not always successful and are at times compelled to accept relief as a supplement.

However, it is the industrial workers who turn to agriculture from time to time when compelled by need who are in the majority. In this group are also found those who are dissatisfied and restless, desirous of a change, and ready to try a summer in the country.

The 251 families covered in this investigation had been going to work in Jersey for an average of 7.9 years. One-fifth went this year for the first time, and at the other extreme one-fifth were in the fields in 1938 for the fifteenth year or more. Almost one-half had been going 4 years or less.

This is very similar to the findings of the New Jersey Commission to Investigate the Employment of Migratory Children in 1930. They reported that the average number of years families had been going to the country was 7.3. Slightly more than one-fifth had gone that year for the first time, and slightly more than one-half had been going 4 years or less.

It is significant to note that in both studies one-fifth of the migrant agricultural families were new recruits. This means a high labor turn-over, with new people who have had no previous experience undertaking farm work. When workers originally began to migrate to Jersey the majority were still close enough to the soil from their experiences in the Old Country to look upon farm work as a way of life. It is evident that this condition no longer exists. The younger families taking the places of the older ones are largely those who cannot make a living in the city. They go to the country not from choice but from necessity.

It is possible to use children as well as adults in the simple hand processes of harvesting fruits and vegetables. Since labor laws regulating hours of work and age of workers do not apply to agriculture, an entire family can go to the country and by dint of hard work of all its members make a sizeable sum during the productive season. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that large families are the rule among New Jersey migrants. The families included in this study averaged seven members.

Recruitment of workers.—The initiative in bringing workers into contact with jobs on New Jersey farms is taken (1) by friends or relatives, (2) by the workers themselves, (3) by farmers acting directly, or (4) by agents or representatives of farmers.

Thirty-seven of the 251 families included in this study found places of employment through friends or relatives, most of whom live in the country and use the workers on their own land. These families had been going to the country for an average of 7.5 years. More than half had gone 4 years or less; 8 had been going 15 years or longer.

Forty-three families found work through their own efforts. They had been going out an average of 12 years; only 12 had gone 4 years or less. For the most part, these families know where the crops in which they want to work are located, and in many instances they know the farmers. Many have been working on the same farms for years. If before leaving in the fall they have not arranged for their next year's place, they will go out during the winter, look over one or more farms, and arrange for work the following spring. This group corresponds roughly to that which follows farm work from choice.

Forty-four families secured their jobs through efforts of farmers who came to the city during the winter to hunt up likely families. This group of families had been going to the country for an average of 7.8 years, with 11 of the 44 being out for the first or second year. This suggests that the farmers themselves may be seeking new, or comparatively new, recruits.

More than half of the families (127) secured work through agents or representatives of farmers, chiefly those who operate the larger tracts of land. This is the most important source of recruiting farm labor. These families had been going to the country an average of 6.8 years. Nearly two-thirds of those who went this year for the first time and one-half or more of those who had gone 2, 3, or 4 years, got their jobs through agents. It is in this group that the highest labor turn-over is found.

Agents and padrones.—There are two types of agents recruiting labor on behalf of New Jersey farmers. Some live on the farms where they are employed as foremen. They usually represent individual farmers. During the winter months they go to the city, where many of them have previously lived and have friends, to select families for the coming season. When the time comes for the families to go to the country, the agent comes in the farmer's truck and transports the workers to the farm. Some of these agents keep track of the workers' hours and earnings; in other cases the farmers themselves do this.

The other type of farmer's representative is the "padrone." Some of these men live in the towns and cities in the producing areas of New Jersey, and their clientele is drawn from these points as well as from Philadelphia. Others live in Philadelphia and some have large business interests there. Most of their labor is drawn from South Philadelphia. Drivers of bakery wagons are often important go-betweens in establishing contacts between padrones or farmers and workers.

The padrones may furnish labor for a single large grower or for several farmers. Their aim is to have a mobile supply of labor ready to go when and where needed. The padrones not only recruit workers but have general supervision of their work in the fields. For this purpose they employ straw bosses, who are also useful in drumming up and holding recruits. Straw bosses receive a somewhat higher rate of pay than the workers and enjoy certain other advantages, such as more desirable houses, but members of their families do the same work as other migrant laborers.

The padrones have their own trucks in which they transport the families and their belongings to and from the country and carry the workers to and from the fields. They keep track of earnings of individual workers and authorize payment. In some instances they operate commissaries. In cases of dispute or disagreement between farmers and workers they act as arbiters. It is generally understood that padrones are paid a commission—so much per worker furnished and a percentage of the unit harvested.

It is significant to note that of the 82 families who had gone to New Jersey for only 1 or 2 years 50 secured their jobs through agents, whereas of the 84 who had gone 18 years or longer, only 32 found work through agents. Apparently new workers, not familiar with the New Jersey farming region, depend more upon padrones and agents than do those who have had several years experience in the work.

Employer-employee agreements.—Generally there is no written contract between the farmers and laborers. However, there is a definite understanding that a family will stay on the farm to which it goes until completion of the harvest. In return for this the farmer or his agent agrees to transport the family and its belongings to and from the farm, and to provide living quarters.

There were only 5 families who paid transportation costs to the country. But 37 families had to pay transportation costs back to the city. Several hired a truck together and divided the expense. The chief cause for payment of return transportation was the excessively inclement weather during the 1938 season, which made it impossible for many families to work enough to earn any appreciable amount. Naturally, if they could not work they would rather be in their more comfortable city homes. On the other hand, if the farmer was to make anything, he had to harvest his crops. There was always hope that the weather would clear. Hence he was unwilling to pay the expenses back.

The unit rate of pay is also discussed, and frequently a definite promise made, before the family goes to the farm. In the absence of a written contract, however, the farmer cannot be held to his (or the padrone's) agreement, and pay is frequently lowered as the season advances. (See p. 15.)

MAKE-UP AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILIES

Family members who migrate.—In order to gain a conception of the extent to which children are affected by the type of migrancy found in New Jersey, and of the role of agricultural earnings in the total family economy of members of the group, information was gathered on the make-up of families, the number who did farm work, and family income from other sources.

Table I shows the number and ages of members in the 251 families, the number and percentage going to the country, and the number doing farm work.

In the 251 families there were 1,764 persons, an average of 7 per family. In 239 families both parents were living, in 9 the father was dead, and in 3 the mother was dead.

Of the total family membership 81.6 percent went to the country. Of those who did not go, three-fourths were fathers and adults 19 years and over. Apparently in many families it is the mothers and children too young for industrial employment who leave the city for farm work.

TABLE I

	Fathers	Mothers	Children						Others	Total	Average
			19 years	16–18 years	14–15 years	6–13 years	5 years and under	Age not given			
Number members in families	242	248	322	232	212	437	62	3	6	1,764	7.0
Went to country:											
Number	148	236	175	207	206	410	53	-------	4	1,439	5.7
Percent	61.2	95.2	54.3	89.2	97.2	93.8	85.5	-------	66.6	81.6	----
Number doing farm work	142	204	173	203	199	236	-------	-------	4	1,161	4.6

TABLE II

	Parents	Children (years old)												Others	Total
		17 and over	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6 and under		
Number going to country	384	306	76	102	104	70	94	47	69	33	44	34	70	4	1,437
Number working on farms	346	300	76	100	99	64	80	29	34	15	12	2	------	4	1,161

The great majority (80.7 percent) of the family members who went to New Jersey worked in the fields. Table II shows the number of workers and the age distribution of the children who worked.

Nearly half the workers were children from 8 to 16 years who would have been required to attend school had they remained in Philadelphia. Nearly all of the children 12 to 16 years, inclusive, worked in the fields; approximately half of those 9, 10, and 11 years, and nearly one-fifth of those under 9 years.

Family income from nonagricultural sources.—The families who go out from Philadelphia for nonagricultural work are predominantly a low-income group. In less than half was any member working, either regularly or irregularly, in private employment. Some were on the Work Projects Administration rolls and a larger number were on relief. There were 29 families who had no income whatever from employment or relief. For the most part these were the families who depended entirely on seasonal farm work for their living.

The sources and amount of income in the city for the 251 families, and the number of days they spent in the country with their average seasonal income from farm work, are shown in table III:

TABLE III

Source of income	Number of families	Average weekly income in city	Number of days in country	Average seasonal income from farm work
Private employment	119	$19.39	91	$221
W. P. A. employment	24	[1] 16.90	112	240
Relief	79	[2] 15.78	103	260
No income from public or private employment or relief	29	------------	125	505

[1] In 6 families some members also had private employment, included in figure on income.

[2] In 19 families some members also had private employment, included in figure on income.

There were 76 families who gave up all sources of income in the city for summer farm work. Sixty of these families had been on relief; in 5 there had been income from Work Projects Administration employment and in 11 from private employment. The average city income from all sources for these families was $14.37 per week. This, it will be noted, is lower than the average for any of the groups shown in table III, indicating that those who sacrificed city income for farm work were those receiving the lowest income in the city.

These 76 families spent an average of 104 days in the country and their seasonal earnings averaged $286. This makes an average weekly earning while in the country of $19.26—less than $5 more than they had been receiving in the city. When the expense of going to the country and the increased cost of some food items, particularly bread, are taken into account, it will be seen that the earnings from farm work are little, if any, above relief allowances. Since the figure on farm earnings is an average, it must be recognized that some families were actually worse off than if they had remained in the city. Thirty-three families were back on relief or Work Projects Administration at the time of the Philadelphia interview, and 2 others, not on relief before they went to the country, had not earned enough to carry them and were receiving assistance on their return.

On the other hand, in 146 families one or more members remained at work in the city while the rest of the family went to New Jersey. The average weekly city income for these families amounted to $18. The members of these families who left the city averaged 94 days in the country and their season's earnings for agricultural work averaged $213. On the face of it, this would appear to be a substantial supplement to the family income. But it must be remembered that many of those who remained working in the city were adult children living at home who used practically all they made for their own needs. Where the father remained at work in the city, the earnings of the mother and children during the summer were undoubtedly of real help in many cases. But a large number of them reported that the expenses incidental to their going and the high cost of maintenance while there had reduced their net earnings almost to the vanishing point. In fact, some of them came back in debt.

When urban employment of heads of families alone is considered, it is evident that the amount of wages was a primary factor in determining whether the father accompanied his family to the country or remained in the city. Of the 148 fathers who went to New Jersey only 22 had jobs in private employment at the time they left the city. Of these, 10 were working regularly, averaging $16.10 a week, and 12 worked irregularly, averaging $11.89 a week. The 81 fathers who did not give up their employment to go to the country were receiving higher wages: 48 had regular jobs at which they averaged $20.71 a week, and 33 had irregular jobs averaging $14.93 a week.

A repugnance against accepting relief was apparently one of the most powerful factors inducing families to migrate. Very few had an income in the city adequate for their needs, and a summer in New Jersey offered the hope that a reserve for the winter might be accumulated. For those on relief the venture was a direct attempt to reestablish their independence and relieve the community of the burden of their support. In addition, there were 29 families who managed, somehow, to subsist the year round without employment in the city and without help from relief agencies.

Effect of migrancy on relief status.—The families themselves reported to relief officials when they were going to the country to work. No evidence whatever was found that families were forced to accept work in the country in order to get them off the relief rolls, nor were any serious complaints made against relief officials. Several, however, were bitter about the treatment accorded them by the farmers and padrones when they wished to reapply for relief.

In one instance the family said they had made three attempts to get action on their application for relief but were unsuccessful because the farmer had not furnished information about their earnings during the summer. Another family was making practically nothing in New Jersey and wanted to return to the city, but the padrone was unwilling to certify them for relief, because he was afraid he would not have enough labor. Rather than incur his ill will, they remained in the country until he was willing to release them. Another family working for the same padrone decided to return regardless of what he had to say. When interviewed they were not getting relief because, according to the mother, "We cannot get a statement of our earnings." In another instance the mother said the family was barred from relief because the padrone had reported that they refused to work. The mother of one family which wanted to return to the city because earnings in New Jersey were very low, said the farmer threatend to report to the relief authorities that they had earned almost three times as much as they actually had.

AGRICULTURAL EARNINGS

When the farmer or his agent interviews prospective workers during the winter, the most important point of discussion is the rate of pay for the coming season.

The farmer or padrone is naturally anxious to be sure of his labor supply and frequently makes a definite promise as to what will be paid per unit for harvesting. If the weather is good, and the prices the farmer receives for his crops hold up, this may work out very well. But there is no written contract and no way of holding the farmer or padrone to his promise. This year, when the weather was bad and the farmers had a great deal of inferior produce to put on the market at lowered prices, many laborers were not paid at the rate which had been promised. In a great many instances the unit price was reduced between the time of starting and the time of finishing the harvest work.

Undoubtedly there were instances where the agents or padrones in their desire to recruit workers went beyond their authority in making promises as to what would be paid. One family, for example, had been promised 3 cents for strawberries. When they arrived at the fields they were told the rate would be 2½ cents. Since they were there at considerable expense, they felt they could do nothing but accept the lowered rate.

Rates of pay.—In asparagus the price held rather steadily at 40 to 45 cents per crate. In a few instances 35 cents per crate was paid. Occasionally, the basis of pay was 1 or 2 cents a pound. In strawberries the season opened rather generally at 3 cents a pint, but by the close 2 or 2½ cents was the prevailing price. Raspberries paid 2 to 3 cents a pint, and blackberries 2 to 3 cents a quart. Generally the promised price for string beans was 25 to 30 cents a hamper. The prevailing price paid by a large corporation which also had a canning factory was 25 cents. For the most part other growers paid from 10 to 15 cents a hamper. Tomatoes brought 3 to 7 cents a basket, the prevailing figure being 5 or 6 cents. For tomatoes sold to canneries the pay was usually 1 cent less than for market tomatoes. Pay for topping onions was 7 or 8 cents a bushel. Cranberries brought from 50 to 70 cents a bushel for hand picking and 40 to 50 cents for scooping. Potatoes brought 1¼ to 3 cents a hamper, the prevailing rate being 2 cents.

The unit price was not only low but there was great variation in the amount paid even by individual farmers in the same community. Admittedly, farmers had a bad time in 1938. As a group they did not make much money; some even lost. But this does not wholly explain the situation. Much of the difficulty arises from the farmer's concept of labor as a commodity to be bought as cheaply as possible. For instance, a cranberry grower, whose crop in 1938 was only half as large as in 1937, paid workers at the same rate both years. But the price for cranberries received in 1938 was practically double that of 1937. Consequently, the grower's income was not reduced at all, but that of the workers was cut in half.

The prices received by the farmers during the 1938 season fluctuated greatly. Often the burden of this uncertainty was borne by the workers who did not know at what rate they would be paid until after the farmer sold. One father said, "The farmer chronically complains and crabs about the price he receives for his produce. If he is getting a good price he is silent on labor rates. But if prices are low, then he hollers his head off about what he must pay labor."

The hourly rate for day work varied greatly also and toward the end of the season tended to be lower. Men received from 15 cents to 27½ cents an hour. The prevailing rate at the opening of the season was 25 cents and at the close 20 cents. Women received from 15 to 22½ cents hourly. At the outset most got 17½ cents and at the close they were getting 15 cents. Children usually got 10 cents an hour.

In some instances earnings were paid promptly; either weekly or upon the completion of a given task. But in many others wages in full or in part were held back. The families felt this was done to force them to remain on the farms whether they were earning anything or not. For the most part the families were in debt for living expenses and had no choice but to remain until they could collect earnings and pay their bills. Two families were taken by a padrone to pick strawberries in one locality. The understanding was that upon the completion of the strawberry harvest they would go to another place for string beans. Rain held back the strawberries and the farmer held back their earnings so they could not leave. When they got to string beans the farms were so overcrowded with workers that there was no place for them. They had no alternative but to return to the city.

Occasionally a family had difficulty in collecting pay. One mother reported that the farmer "forgot" to give her credit for 17 bushels of beans which the family had picked, and never did pay for them. In another, a mother, three girls, 18, 15, and 14 years old and a boy of 12 were still trying in mid-October to collect $85 for day work done in June.

Just how much the cut-in by bosses and padrones affects the income of migrant workers, it would be difficult to say. In most instances the arrangement is a confidential one between the farmer and the boss or padrone, and the workers know nothing about it. The family is merely quoted net rates, i. e., so much per unit harvested, or so much per hour. However, in one case the family did know about the arrangement. The farmer paid the boss 15 cents for string beans, 5 cents for tomatoes, 2 cents for strawberries, and 19 cents an hour for day work. Before paying the workers, the boss took out for himself 3 cents for string beans, ½ cent each for tomatoes and strawberries, and 1½ cents an hour for day work.

Income for season.—Several factors besides the rate of pay determine the amount which a family earns during the season. Among the more important considerations are: (1) the length of time spent in the country, (2) the amount of work available, (3) whether there is an oversupply of labor, (4) the number of workers in the family, and (5) the kind of crops in which the family works. Some crops give steady work over a rather long period of time. It takes, for instance, about 2 months to harvest asparagus, and it was in this crop that the highest earnings were found. Other crops are less remunerative, such as berries, where the unit rate is low and work less continuous, due to different periods of ripening. Work in onions pays well, but the work period is short.

Families reported that their agricultural earnings in 1938 were considerably less than in most previous years. Three important factors operated to reduce income this year.

First, the excessively inclement weather made it extremely difficult for people to work—at times they simply could not work. During wet spells or periods of forced unemployment some families returned to the city. Some were so discouraged they did not venture out a second time. This cut down the time the families were in the country and might have been earning something.

Second, many of the crops were destroyed or made unfit for market shipment by the rains. Not only did this cut down the amount of work to be done, but some farmers also reduced the unit price for harvesting.

Third, in many places there were more workers than were needed for the amount of work to be done. More than two-fifths of the families reported this to be the condition. Although this may have resulted in part from the reduction in the volume of work available, due to storms, it also reflected an actual increase in the number of workers. Families on some farms reported that in previous years the number of workers was only one-half or one-third the number used this year.

Table IV shows the income for the season for 239 families who reported their earnings, in relation to the length of time spent in the country and to the number of workers in the family.

TABLE IV.—*Seasonal income, average number of workers per family, and length of time spent in country*

Length of time spent in country [1]	Number of families reporting	Average number of workers per family [2]	Average seasonal income	Income range
10 to 30 days	25	3.1	$42	$15– $90
31 to 50 days	28	3.3	98	23– 300
51 to 70 days	18	3.3	119	10– 316
71 to 90 days	29	3.7	206	12– 500
91 to 110 days	28	3.2	250	58– 900
111 to 130 days	34	4.0	308	28– 900
131 to 150 days	43	3.9	395	66– 1,300
151 to 170 days	21	4.5	468	160– 1,490
171 to 190 days	11	4.3	509	270– 1,000
191 days and over	2	5.8	825	450– 1,200
Total	239	3.7	265	10– 1,490

[1] This represents the number of days between the date the family left Philadelphia and returned to stay. In some cases families returned during intervals of unemployment.

[2] A working child 15 years or younger is counted as one-half worker; although many children 12 to 15 years equal adults in their output, the youngest children (7–10 years) not only are slower workers, but work for fewer hours than adults. Considering younger and older children together, the above classification would seem reasonable.

It will be noted that, as would be expected, there was a fairly constant increase in the family seasonal income for each period of 20 days added to the length of time spent in New Jersey. Interesting also is the fact that the families with more workers tended to stay in New Jersey for a longer time than the families with fewer workers. All of the families remaining more than 110 days averaged at least 3.9 workers per family. This would indicate that it is families with a large number of children who find agriculture sufficiently remunerative to induce them to stay throughout the season.

Considered as family earnings representing payment for several workers, the income is low in proportion to the amount of time spent in the country. For the group who spent about 20 weeks in the country, the average earnings per worker was only $101; for those who spent about 25 weeks in New Jersey it was $118. In some cases individual families earned a great deal more, as indicated by the income range distribution, but others fell way below the average. For example, the family who earned the maximum ($500) in the group staying in the country from 71 to 90 days, consisted of two parents, three adult children and a 13-year-old—i. e., five and one-half workers. This family worked in asparagus only. They did not stay for other crops because the factory where the father had worked reopened and one of the adult children also found city employment. The weekly earnings of these two in the city were considerably higher than weekly earnings for the entire family in the country.

Another factor apparently important in determining seasonal income was the families' familiarity with the farm area in New Jersey, whether they knew themselves where the most work and best prices were to be found, or were dependent upon a padrone or agent for work. Table V shows the average seasonal income, with the number of days spent in the country and the number of workers in the families, classified according to the method by which the family found work.

TABLE V.—*Income, number of workers in family, and time in the country by the method of finding job*

Found jobs through	Average number of days spent in country	Average number of workers in family	Average seasonal income	Average income per day in country
Self	117	3.9	$387	$3.30
Farmers	96	3.8	301	3.13
Friends or relations	102	3.7	269	2.63
Padrones or agents	96	3.6	214	2.23

It will be seen that the variation in the size of the workers' families in the four groups is not sufficiently great to cause the difference in seasonal earnings. The difference in the amount of time spent in New Jersey is, of course, one factor, but it is evident that those who found jobs through their own efforts, and who doubtless knew where to find the most remunerative work, not only averaged more days in the country but had a higher average earning per day spent in the country. On the other hand, those who got their jobs through padrones or agents were out the shortest time and averaged the least income. This can be partly explained by the desire of the padrone to keep on hand a labor supply sufficient to meet peak needs. This means an oversupply during most of the season when there is only a moderate or small amount of work to be done.

The average seasonal earnings for the 239 families for which such data were secured, irrespective of the number of weeks they spent in the country and the number of workers per family, was $265. The New Jersey Migratory Commission, using the same basis, found the average seasonal income for 1929 to be $642, and the expected income for 1930 to be $645.

A comparison of the seasonal incomes in 1929, 1930, and 1938 is shown in table VI.

TABLE VI.—*Seasonal earning of families in 1929, 1930, and 1938*

Income	Number of families earning specified amount			Percentage of families earning specified amount		
	1929	1930	1938	1929	1930	1938
Under $100	40	63	66	11	11	28
$100 to $249	70	105	78	18	18	33
$250 to $399	47	48	38	13	8	16
$400 to $549	30	66	27	8	11	11
$550 to $699	32	58	17	9	10	7
$700 to $849	47	57	4	13	10	2
$850 to $999	15	31	2	4	5	(1)
$1,000 to $1,149	31	56	3	8	10	1
$1,150 to $1,299	20	23	2	5	4	(1)
$1,300 to $1,449	11	30	1	3	5	(1)
$1,450 and over	30	43	1	8	8	(1)
	373	580	239	100	100	98

[1] Less than 1 percent.

If the families reported their income correctly in both studies, there was a tremendous change in seasonal income in 1938 as compared with 1929 and 1930. Whereas only 42 percent of the families in 1929 and 37 percent in 1930 earned less than $400 for the season, in 1938, 77 percent earned less than $400. In 1929 and 1930, 41 percent and 42 percent, respectively, earned $700 or more, but in 1938 only 5 percent earned as much as $700.

Whether this reduction has been a gradual trend during the past 8 years or whether the unusual weather conditions in 1938 account primarily for the great decrease in income cannot be determined for there are no comparative figures on earnings for intervening years. It is probable that it was the result of a combination of factors—the abnormal season, the spread of available work over a larger number of families, and a lower basic wage rate. The New Jersey Migratory Commission did not report on unit rates for work prevailing at that time.

HOURS OF WORK

Child labor is an important factor in the migration of families for seasonal agricultural employment. It is without question the fact that children can participate in the work in the fields that make families feel it is worth while to go to the country. It was not possible to determine earnings of children separately from those of adults. However, the Report of the New Jersey State Migratory Commission in 1930 estimated that 30 percent of the family income was earned by children under 16 years.

In the 251 families covered in this study there were 743 children 16 years and younger. Of this number 511 worked in the fields, including 172 children 12 years or under and 63 who were 10 years or younger. (See table II, p. 12.) In agriculture, as in industry, child labor is one of the chief contributing factors in keeping wage rates low.

Those who oppose any regulation of agricultural child labor stress the pleasant aspects of children working with their parents in the fresh air and sunshine. But nothing is said about the very young children who work for long hours, or about the days when the sun is excessively hot, or when it rains or is cold. Children are often required to work in the fields when the ground is wet and muddy and frequently under such conditions they work without shoes or stockings. Many families spoke of being required by the boss or farmer to work even in the rain.

The hours children work are often long. At certain times there is a great deal of rushing and driving, and most of the children work as long and as hard as their parents, who join the bosses and farmers in urging them on.

The length of the workday is wholly dependent upon the needs of the crops. These needs are determined by several factors:

Conditions of ripening: Fruits and vegetables must be gathered when ripe. For some crops this process is rapid, and for some it is spread out over a comparatively long period.

Packing and preparation for market: This must be completed to meet the scheduled times of trains and trucks.

Time of planting: Sometimes intervals between plantings of the same crop are so short as to allow very little time for completing the harvesting of one before the other is ready. Sometimes different crops are ready to harvest at the same time.

The weather: The ripening process does not stop with inclement weather; in some cases it may be hastened. If workers are kept out of the field because of rain, they must hold themselves in readiness to start work the moment the sky clears. Naturally there must be speeding up, and work must be done at extraordinary hours, such as at night or on Sundays if the lost time is to be made up.

The labor supply: If the labor supply on the farm is greater than is needed, the workday may be shortened. On the other hand, if there are just enough or too few workers, the reverse may be true. It is generally the families who depend primarily upon summer agricultural work for their living who find places where there are few workers in proportion to the amount of work to be done. The fathers of these families choose places with an eye to the volume of work. If they underestimate the amount to be done, they are under tremendous pressure to work long and hard in order to get the crops in. For if they cannot do the work on time, other workers can easily be brought in to help and their incomes are thereby lowered.

When pay is on an hourly basis, the standard workday is 10 hours, although some families with children worked longer than this. Hourly rates were paid most often for planting operations such as setting out tomato plants, hoeing and weeding most crops, and picking and packing apples and peaches, and sometimes picking tomatoes and potatoes. According to statements of the families, the number of farmers hiring labor on a day basis is increasing and many complained of being driven by the bosses or farmers while working under this arrangement. Generally speaking, young children—those under 10 or 12 years—are not permitted to do day work. This is not out of consideration for the children but because they cannot work as fast as older people. The basis of selection is really size, not age. Several children engaged in day work said they would not have been able to get such work if the boss had known how young they really were. On the other hand, older children who were under sized complained of not being able to get day work.

Where the work is paid on a piece-rate basis, which still is the system used for the bulk of the harvesting, some families, including the children, worked as long as 10 or 12 hours a day. Generally speaking, the longest hours were worked in asparagus, tomatoes, potatoes, and string beans.

It is not always actual hours of work that make the days excessively long. Many families complained that when the fields are distant from the shacks, they have to wait around 2 or 3 hours after work, as the trucks do not start home until the last worker has finished his job. Of course they are not paid for this wasted time. One family, in which there were two children 10 and 12 years, said they were often gone from home 13 hours.

Examples of long days.—Because of the many and varied factors entering into the length of the working day, it was impossible to secure exact information on hours for all working children. There were short days—and long ones. As a rule the children, except the youngest, worked as long as adults, even when exceptionally long hours were required.

The peak of the asparagus harvest is in May and June, when the period of daylight is long. If it is warm the "grass," as asparagus is commonly called by the workers, shoots through quickly and must be cut promptly. Hustling, enterprising families may be found in the fields at the break of day—4:30 or 5 a. m.

In one family there were five working children betwen 7 and 15 years, two older children and the father, who cut, bunched, and packed asparagus. They usually started about 5 a. m. and often it was 6 p. m. before they were finished.

A mother and two girls, 11 and 14 years old, worked in an asparagus-packing shed for 10 hours a day.

In another family the parents and two boys of 12 and 13 worked in asparagus. The mother said it often took them 15 hours a day to get the work done, and added: "The boys, they cry like babies. They no want to get up at 4 o'clock." One family, consisting of the parents and six children, of whom two were under 16 years, cared for 22 acres of asparagus. Ordinarily they started to work at 4:30 a. m. and would be finished by 4 p. m., but on a few days they did not finish until 11 p. m.

A family consisting of the parents and three children, 8, 10, and 14 years, usually started work in asparagus at 5 a. m. and finished at 4 p. m.

Among the instances of long workdays reported in other crops are the following:

A mother, two boys of 19 and 14 years, and a girl of 12 years picked tomatoes from 6 in the morning until 5 in the evening with an hour off at noon.

Four children from 10 to 16 years and three 17 years or older, together with their mother, picked tomatoes for 11 hours a day for a few days.

Three children 12, 13, and 15 years, worked in tomatoes from 8:30 a. m. to 6 p. m. with a half-hour off for lunch. They worked longer on the days they were picking for the cannery than when they picked for market.

A family in which there was a 12-year-old boy said they sometimes worked 13 hours a day picking string beans.

Another, in which there were two children 10 and 11 years, picked lima beans for 11 hours a day.

Two girls of 14 and 16 picked potatoes from 7 a. m. until 6 p. m., and sometimes till 8 p. m., with 1 hour off for lunch.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

One of the best criteria available for ascertaining the harm done to children by gainful employment is a comparison of the school records of working boys and girls with those of children who are not employed. A study was therefore made of the amount of absence due to migrancy and the grade standing for all children of school age in the 251 families interviewed.

The records for 656 children were furnished by the Philadelphia school authorities. This number included some children outside the compulsory attendance age which in Pennsylvania, in 1938, extended from 8 to 16 years, inclusive. The law exempts from school attendance (1) children who have completed high school, (2) children 16 years of age who hold employment certificates, (3) children 16 years of age who are mentally unable to profit from further schooling, and (4) children of 15 and 16 years who have completed the sixth grade and are employed at farm or domestic work because of parental need.

Children coming into Pennsylvania from other States for migratory work are covered by the Pennsylvania school law and receive the same educational advantages as resident children. In New Jersey, however, there is no law requiring nonresident children to attend school, and no provision is made for their education. (Since publication of this pamphlet, New Jersey has made such provision.—Editor.)

TABLE VII

	March	April		May		June		July		August		Sep-tember		October		No-vem-ber	Total
	16 to 31	1 to 15	16 to 30	1 to 15	16 to 31	1 to 15	16 to 30	1 to 15	16 to 31	1 to 15	16 to 31	1 to 15	16 to 30	1 to 15	16 to 31	1 to 15	
Going out	4	5	43	29	84	51	24	4	----	----	----	6	----	1	----	------	251
Returning	--------	----	----	----	2	4	8	27	17	29	22	29	26	39	46	2	251

TABLE VIII

	Number of school days missed							
	19 days or less	20 to 39 days	40 to 59 days	60 to 79 days	80 to 99 days	100 to 119 days	120 days or more	Total
Spring:								
Number of children	192	226	119	7	6	2	1	553
Percent	34.7	40.9	21.3	1.3	1.1	.4	.2	100.0
Fall:								
Number of children	194	163	31	8	1	--------	--------	397
Percent	48.9	41.1	7.8	2.0	.2	--------	--------	100.0
Both spring and fall:								
Number of children	127	185	186	50	23	8	9	588
Percent	21.6	31.4	31.6	8.5	3.9	1.4	1.5	100.0

Amount of time lost from school.—Philadelphia schools in 1938 closed on June 26 and reopened on September 9. Table VII shows when the families left Philadelphia for New Jersey and when they returned.

By the end of April 20.7 percent of the families had gone to the country, 45 percent went in May and 29.9 percent in June. Eleven families went out after July 1, most of them for fall harvesting.

By the end of August 43.8 percent had returned, 21.9 percent returned in September, and 33.9 percent in October. Only two families who remained out until after November 1 were visited in Philadelphia and consequently could be included in this table, but several calls were made at homes to which families had not returned by this time.

Of the 656 children, there were 588, or 89.6 percent, who missed time from school in the spring or fall, or both. The time lost averaged 39 days of school—just 1 day less than 2 school months. The New Jersey Commission to Investigate the Employment of Migratory Children in New Jersey found that for the year 1930 the average time lost from school by the children of migrants was exactly the same, 39 days.

Table VIII shows the number and percentage of children absent from school in the spring and fall for specified periods because of migration to New Jersey.

It will be noted that of the children who missed school in the spring nearly 2 out of 3 missed 1 school month (20 school days) or more, and nearly 1 out of 4 missed 2 months or more. In the fall more than half missed a month or more of school. When the spring and fall days are added together nearly 4 out of 5 missed a month or more, almost half missed 2 months or more, and more than 1 in 7 missed 3 months or more.

Age-grade distribution.—The effect of the great amount of time lost from school is observable in the grade standing of the children involved. Of the 656 children included in the school study, there were 8 for whom the information was not complete, 29 were in ungraded classes, and 13 in vocational classes. This leaves 606 children for whom age-grade information was tabulated. Table IX shows the age-grade distribution of these 606 migrant children.

More than 2 out of 5 (42.4 percent) of the migrant children were retarded, 54.8 percent were of normal age for their grade, and only 2.8 percent were accelerated.

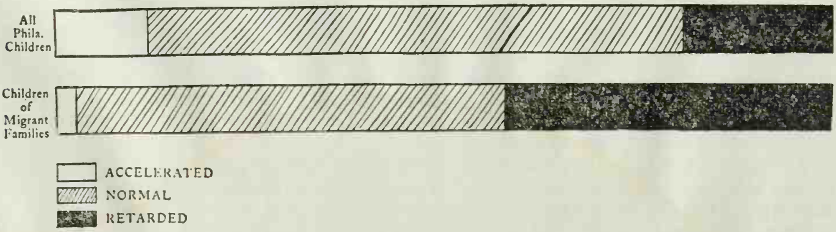
There is a wide variation between these figures and those for the total school enrollment in the regular elementary and high-school classes of Philadelphia (as of January 18, 1938). In the total school enrollment only 19.8 percent were retarded, 68.3 were of normal age for their grades, and 11.9 were accelerated.

For many years, not only in Philadelphia but throughout the country as a whole, there has been a consistent and continuous decrease in the percentage of overage children in the school system. An increasingly large proportion of children now progress normally, doubtless as a result of improvements in educational technique and changes in grading policies. In Philadelphia the percentage of the school enrollment which was retarded dropped from 29 in 1929[1] to 19.8 in 1938, a decrease of 31.7 percent. The percentage of retardation for migrant children dropped from 60.6 in 1930 (as reported by the New Jersey Migratory Commission) to 42.4 in 1938, a decrease of 29.9 percent.

TABLE IX.—*Age-grade distribution of 606 migrant children in regular classes of Philadelphia schools*

Age	Grade												Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
6	7	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	7
6½	7	2	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	9
7	9	8	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	17
7½	3	15	2	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	20
8	2	8	9	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	19
8½	1	6	12	2	1	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	22
9	1	------	7	7	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	15
9½	------	1	7	10	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	18
10	------	2	------	20	13	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	35
10½	------	------	4	9	14	2	------	------	------	------	------	------	29
11	1	------	3	5	18	6	1	------	------	------	------	------	34
11½	2	------	------	------	10	8	1	------	------	------	------	------	21
12	------	------	------	2	10	18	11	1	------	------	------	------	42
12½	------	------	------	3	4	12	18	3	------	------	------	------	40
13	------	------	------	------	1	7	21	2	------	------	------	------	31
13½	------	1	------	------	2	6	15	9	2	------	------	------	35
14	1	------	------	------	2	6	15	27	6	------	------	------	57
14½	------	2	------	------	------	2	5	21	10	------	------	------	40
15	------	------	1	1	------	3	8	13	6	2	------	------	34
15½	2	1	2	1	------	1	10	7	12	10		------	46
16	------	2	------	------	------	------	1	4	6	10	3	------	26
16½	------	------	1	------	------	------	------	------	3	4	1	------	9
Total	36	48	48	60	75	71	106	87	45	26	4	------	606
Percent	5.9	7.9	7.9	9.9	12.4	11.7	17.5	14.4	7.4	4.3	.7	------	100.0
Percent under age	------	4.2	4.2	3.3	1.3	2.8	1.9	4.6	4.4	------	------	------	2.8
Percent normal	63.8	64.6	58.3	61.7	60.0	45.1	47.2	43.7	48.9	84.6	100.0	------	54.8
Percent overage	36.1	31.2	37.5	35.0	38.7	52.1	50.9	51.7	46.7	15.4	------	------	42.4

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN ACCELERATED, NORMAL, AND RETARDED IN SCHOOL



Although retardation among migratory children is markedly lower than in 1930, the rate of reduction has not kept pace with that for the general school population. The retardation rate for migrants is still considerably more than twice that for the general school population. Their broken attendance in the spring and fall defeats all efforts made in their behalf.

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[1] 1930 figures not available, as these data are secured biennially.

HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Types of houses.—New Jersey truck farming has become thoroughly industrialized. Much of the land is held by corporations and is scientifically worked. The acreage to be planted, selection of crops, use of fertilizers, and cultivation methods are definitely controlled. But the system of recruiting workers and providing for them at the farms is little changed from what it was a generation ago. For the most part housing and sanitary accommodations for the workers are far below standards of decent living.

Migrants generally describe their living quarters in the country as shacks and shanties, frame houses, or other buildings.

Generally shacks are small one- or two-room buildings. A few, mostly found on the cranberry bogs, are large buildings, each housing several families. They are crudely constructed of cheap material, frequently in a poor state of repair, unpainted, with unattractive surroundings, and often located in out-of-way places back of other farm buildings.

Frame house is a term loosely applied, sometimes to shacks but more often to buildings vacated by resident families when new and more up-to-date houses are built. Some are painted and kept in reasonable repair; others are neglected and badly run down.

Other buildings include such places as sheds, barns, garages, and chicken coops. When built they were not intended as living places, and generally are unfit for human habitation.

Two-thirds of the 251 families lived in shacks, one-fourth in frame houses, and 8 percent in other buildings. Overcrowding was the rule regardless of the type of housing. In the houses in which the 251 families interviewed lived there were also 198 other families. These 449 families had a total of 858 rooms, or less than 2 rooms per family. The average number of persons staying in the country in the families interviewed, it will be recalled, was 5.7. Shacks averaged 1.8 rooms per family; frame houses, 2.4 rooms; and other buildings, 1 room. A room is not usually a very definite thing. In some cases partitions may be constructed of rough boards 4 or 5 feet high; in others the dividing lines may be formed by stringing up sheets or other draperies.

Overcrowding.—Many illustrations of overcrowding could be cited:

A family of 11 lived in a 1-room shack.

A family of 9, consisting of parents, 4 grown boys, a boy of 14, and 2 girls, 10 and 13 years, lived in a 1-room shack.

A family of 4 lived with another family of 3 in a 1-room shack. The room was divided by stretching a curtain across.

Two families, consisting of 13 people, lived in a 2-room shack.

A family of 10, including young boys and girls, ate and slept in a single-room shack.

Three families, of 14 people, lived in a 1-room shack, divided off by curtains.

A family of 9 had a 1-room shack located next to a stable.

A family of 10 had 1 room over a garage.

A 4-car garage was partitioned off to accommodate 3 families of 14 people.

A packing house was partitioned off to provide for 3 families of 13 people.

A farm house of 10 rooms accommodated 7 families of 29 people.

A barn was subdivided into 8 rooms, 4 upstairs and 4 downstairs. Six families of 33 people lived here, the women and girls sleeping upstairs and the men and boys downstairs.

A family of 7 had 1 room in the hay loft, below which a horse was stabled.

A family of 6 lived in 1 room which had formerly been a chicken coop.

Another chicken coop had been vacated in part to make room for 3 families of 12 persons.

These are just a few illustrations of a general condition. As is always the case with overcrowding, privacy is almost unknown, and the moral hazard is as great as the threat to health. Furthermore, the dangers from fire are great. This is especially true of the large partitioned-off barns and the huge ramshackle buildings used to house workers on cranberry bogs. They are usually built of flimsy materials, and no provision is made for fire protection. Careless cigarette smokers and kerosene stoves are ever-present sources of danger.

Screens.—The question of screens is an important one, since flies and mosquitoes are a serious nuisance. For the dwellings of 90 families there were no screens on the doors, and for 75, none on the windows. Screens for doors, where furnished, are usually provided by the farmers as part of the dwelling equipment. In many instances, however, the families must furnish their own window screens or do without.

Mosquitoes in some sections at certain seasons amount almost to a scourge. One mother and four children ranging in ages from 8 to 14 years, living in a one-room shack with another family of four, had to give up and go back to the city. They tried to protect their heads and faces with netting but with little success. They could not rest at night. A 20-year-old girl in another family got an infection in her arm and cheek from mosquito bites.

Cooking facilities.—Facilities for cooking are generally poor and often crude. More than one-fifth of the families had no means of cooking except on a fireplace outside the dwelling. Some of these fireplaces had shedlike coverings; others had no protection whatever. Especially during inclement weather this arrangement was a terrific hardship. Flies and smoke were a constant source of irritation. Nearly one-half of the families cooked on kerosene stoves which they carried to the country or bought after arrival. More than one-fourth cooked on wood stoves which sometimes were permanent equipment in the house and sometimes were provided by the families.

Water supply.—Although no bacteriological tests of drinking water were made, the unsanitary conditions surrounding the supply of drinking water suggested that in many cases the source of the water supply was, or could easily become, contaminated.

The great majority of families (70.9 percent) secured drinking water from wells by means of hand pumps. In a few instances it was drawn by hand in a bucket. One-third of the wells were open and nearly half were wholly or inadequately protected against surface drainage.

Eight families got water from springs or creeks. In one case the immediate source was covered and protected against surface drainage, but in the others there was no covering or surface drainage protection.

The rest of the families (25.9 percent) got water from spigots. A few were attached to town or city water supplies, but the majority were fastened to tanks in which individual farmers or companies provided water storage.

Some of the families reported that they had to carry the drinking water long distances, in some cases as much as 300 yards.

The workers had many complaints about the drinking water. Following are some of their comments: "Had to strain the water; dirty and rusty." "Three rats in the well. Put lime in it; that made water all right." Speaking of a spring, one woman said: "My man make it." "Water supplied from tank on owner's property was dirty; when boiled it turned green." "Pump broke; farmer wouldn't fix it. Father came out from city and fixed it." "Sometimes when you wash you got water back," meaning the pump brought up soap suds water which had drained into the well. One family said there were worms in the water, that it had a foul odor, and children in other families were crying because of pains in the stomach which they attributed to the water.

Drinking water is carried to the fields in all kinds of containers—jugs, bottles, buckets, etc. Usually the job of bringing water to the fields is assigned to the very young children in the family. Where workers are together in gangs under row bosses, the foreman usually arranges to have the water brought out in large casks or tanks. The common drinking cup is the rule. Many complaints were heard against this service which is supplied by the padrones or bosses. Toward the close of day the supply runs low and more than one worker spoke of getting so thirsty that he went to the ditch to drink.

Toilet facilities.—The situation with respect to toilet facilities is generally bad, and in some localities a disgrace. Five families had no privies at all, only 27 had sanitary toilets of any type. These included 4 inside flush toilets and 23 outside toilets with fly-proofed vaults.

The remaining 219 families had outside privies of a crude type. In none were the pits made of concrete or fly-proofed. Only 8 had screens. In 64 instances a single privy was used by 4 or more families; in one place 2 privies were for the use of 48 women and girls.

One-fourth of the toilets were said to be separate for sexes, which usually meant that they were for the use of the female members of the family only, while the men and boys had to go to the woods or the fields.

Care of toilets is generally neglected. Lime is seldom used. In some the physical construction is so poor and neglected that it is impossible to keep the place clean. Generally neither workers nor farmers have any understanding of what is necessary for a reasonable standard of sanitation. In one instance the outraged sense of decency on the part of the family made itself felt. They succeeded in getting the toilet cleaned by refusing to work until this was done.

One mother told of taking great pains to scrub and clean the toilets regularly. After a while the number of workers greatly increased, and the others were unwilling to assume their share of the disagreeable task, so she abandoned her efforts.

At one place the pit was dug by the men in the workers' families; when it became filled they moved the building to another location. One family which had no toilet facilities whatever offered to build a privy if the farmer would furnish the material, but he refused. In another case the toilet fell down, and the family was without one for a week. Another had neither door nor roof. Someone had to stand guard to warn the occupant of others who might be approaching.

There are generally no toilet facilities in the fields. Where the fields are located near the houses this may not be serious. But frequently the fields are a considerable distance away, and this means either a long, time-consuming walk for the workers, or use of the fields or woods.

Bathing facilities.—One family had a bathroom in the house, and for 5 showers were available. For the remainder there were no bathing facilities at all except as the family washtub was brought into use. In 37 families some, or all, members went swimming in the local creek, river, lake, or pond. Many mothers spoke of their unwillingness to let the younger children go swimming. Generally there was no one to look after the children, and there was no way of knowing whether the water was polluted.

Comparison with housing standards in city.—The type of living accommodations provided for these workers in the country is particularly shocking when contrasted with the generally comfortable homes and high standards of housekeeping observed by interviewers when the families were visited in Philadelphia. In 242 of these city homes on which exact information was obtained there were 1,536 rooms, or an average of 6.4 per family. There were 1,697 people living in them, or an average of 1.1 persons per room. In the country, it will be recalled, the average was less than 2 rooms per family, and nearly 6 persons per room.

Compared with the 1 family which had a bathroom in the country, three-fourths of the group had this convenience in their city homes. Nearly nine-tenths had both doors and windows screened, even though flies and mosquitoes are less of a menace in the city than in the country.

HEALTH HAZARDS AND ACCIDENTS

Extent of sickness and injuries.—In addition to disrupting ordinary home life, subjecting immature children to excessive fatigue, and interrupting their schooling, migratory agricultural work exposes children to definite physical hazards for which no protection or compensation is provided.

Sickness induced by the poor housing and living conditions and exposure to inclement weather is common. Poisoning from plants and the sprays used on fruits and vegetables is frequent, and the unbalanced diet combines with the impure drinking water to produce many cases of intestinal disorders. Where workers must be transported to the fields, children as well as adults are crowded into open trucks which conform to no safety regulations either in their construction, or in the way in which they are handled on the roads.

It may take a whole winter, and sometimes more, for these families, with the help of urban health and welfare services, to undo the results of a summer spent in the so-called "healthful" country under conditions such as these.

An outstanding example of the hazards of this work for children is a boy seen in New Jersey this summer. Two years ago this boy, then 12 years, strained his internal organs severely while lifting heavy baskets of tomatoes to the truck. The boy has undergone a series of operations but with little success, and permanent cure is not certain. The wall of the abdomen was ruptured, and the boy had recurring periods of great pain even 2 years after the injury occurred.

A 14-year-old girl, seen in New Jersey, injured her knee while working in a stony onion field. It became so inflamed and painful that she fainted. She was taken to the doctors three times, but the grower, though one of the most prosperous, refused to pay the bill of $6. The girl was unable to work for 3 weeks.

Among the 251 families interviewed in Philadelphia, 8 individuals suffered accidents while out in the country in 1938 and 49 families reported some kind of sickness. Many of the families interviewed reported numerous additional cases of sickness and injuries to other workers with whom they were associated in the country.

Accidents.—The eight accidents reported were as follows:

One mother got an infection from running a sliver in her finger while picking cranberries.

A 23-year-old girl sprained her ankle when she jumped off a truck for which no ladder has been provided.

Two mothers hurt their backs, one while picking cherries and the other while picking berries.

A 15-year-old girl bruised her foot with a small stone in her shoe. It became infected and she was compelled to go to the hospital twice a week for several weeks for treatments.

A 17-year-old boy fell out of an apple tree and fractured his shoulder.

An 18-year-old boy fell from a peach duster while working at night and injured his head seriously.

An 18-year-old girl received severe sunburns on her legs while working in the fields. On the following day the farmer asked her to drive the tomato sprayer. The irritation of the blue stone in the spray aggravated the sunburn and serious infection ensued.

Most frequent sickness.—Most of the illness reported was apparently traceable either to working or living conditions.

Respiratory infections: Two families reported bronchitis and four were forced to return to the city because of pneumonia. Severe colds caused serious difficulty in four other cases.

In each instance the individuals affected had worked in wet fields or lived in a house kept damp by a leaking roof. One 16-year-old boy took cold while working in asparagus in the rain and cold during the early spring. The father insisted that he continue at work. The cold held on and during September he was compelled to return to the city, where the doctor warned that he was threatened with tuberculosis. When interviewed in October he was still in bed and coughing a great deal.

External poisoning in some form occurred in eight families. Six were ivy poisoning, one parsnip poisoning and one was termed "sun poisoning." A 17-year-old boy's arms and legs became swollen, with large blisters, while he was working in parsnips. It was necessary for him to go to the hospital to have the blisters lanced. He was unable to work for about 3 weeks. His mother said most of the children on this farm who worked in parsnips were so affected, but not as severely as her boy.

Rheumatic disorders were reported by six families, all of whom attributed their trouble to work in the wet and cold. One mother lost a month and another was laid up and had to return to the city. Two adults complained of stiff knees and a 13-year-old girl of swollen knees resulting from working in inclement weather. "The boss," said the mother, "made us work in the rain." A 17-year-old girl developed what the parents called rheumatic fever and was compelled to return home, where the family doctor could look after her. She was not able to return to the farm.

Stomach and intestinal disorders were reported by six families. An entire family was ill with dysentery, which they ascribed to bad drinking water. In another a 15-months-old baby who had not been having milk had a severe attack of the same disease. One mother was ill 3 weeks with dysentery and another had what she thought was ptomaine poisoning. A 17-year-old girl said she had ptomaine poisoning from eating cranberries which had been sprayed with an insecticide. A 12-year-old girl was ill with what her mother termed "tomato rash." She was a member of the most poverty-stricken family seen, and the children probably ate nothing except tomatoes while in the country.

Abscesses and infections were reported by four families. One 10-year-old girl had an infected ear A mother got an infection in her eye while picking peaches. A 16-year-old girl had an abscessed finger and had to return to the city to have it looked after.

Heat prostrations caused two mothers, a father, and a 20-year-old boy to lose time from work.

Appendicitis attacks were reported by four children. Three were boys, aged 9, 14, and 16 years, respectively, and one a 16-year-old girl. One of the boys had to be rushed to the hospital for an emergency operation.

Miscellaneous illnesses were reported by six other families.

None of these workers received pay for time lost or compensation for injuries even when directly due to employment. Professional medical care while they were in New Jersey was at their own expense.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The data provided by the 251 families interviewed in connection with this study indicate that the impetus driving families into seasonal agricultural work, with its attendant hardships and disruption of family life, is sheer economic need. In the entire group, only 103 heads of families had employment in the city at the time the agricultural season began, and none of these was earning sufficient to support a family in decency and comfort. Wages ranged from an average of $11.89 a week for those who had irregular employment which they gave up in order to go to New Jersey to $20.71 for those who had steady work, which they continued to do while other members of their families worked on the farms.

It is true that some of these workers have had long agricultural experience and apparently prefer this type of employment. For them the economic factor is perhaps more urgent than for those to whom farm work is only supplementary. Their very lack of experience discourages any attempt to compete with others for industrial work, particularly in a period of job scarcity.

About one-half of these families had been going to New Jersey for not more than 4 years, and a fifth of them had gone in 1938 for the first time. They had turned to migrancy and farm labor in an effort to escape from the humiliation and deprivation of their status as relief clients or laborers with less than subsistence wages.

Unfortunately the returns from agricultural work provide a very meager reward for the energy and independence of those who engage in it. The 1938 season was a poor one, providing excellent examples of the sort of hazards against which there is no insurance and which affect farm laborers even more seriously than growers. Rains of flood proportions ruined many crops completely and lowered the quality and market prices of others. Some families, finding no work, remained only a few weeks in New Jersey. Others stayed on, accepting wages much below those they had been led to expect. Weekly earnings for those who were in the country for about 18 weeks averaged only $17, with an average of four family members, counting the children, contributing their labor. Total earnings paid little more than expenses for the time spent in the country, rent for city homes which could not be completely abandoned, and, in the most favorable instances, a few back debts. It is true that a few families, generally large families with several working children, who have had the most farm experience and stay for longer periods, manage to maintain themselves the year round without industrial employment or help from relief agencies. But in the group studied many of those who had received relief before leaving the city in the spring were compelled to apply for reinstatement soon after they returned in the fall.

It is upon the children of migrant families that the burden of these poorly rewarded efforts falls most heavily. Large families predominate among New Jersey agricultural workers, as the average of 5.1 children in the 251 families studied shows. The earnings of children are added to those of their parents to help increase the total family income. Where the family works as a unit low pay to individual workers is more easily justified, and parents, in the next phase of the vicious cycle, are compelled to bring more children to the farms and drive them to work harder in order to make the returns sufficient for their minimum needs.

The children and their parents are subject to the abuses of the padrone system through which much of the agricultural labor used in New Jersey is recruited and handled. Padrones and bosses, many of whom have grown rich, exercise tremendous power. Being unsupervised and unregulated by the State, there is no way to hold them responsible for the promises they make regarding wages, amount of work, housing, or living conditions. By their manipulation of the labor supply they can to a very great extent determine how much individual families earn. By withholding information concerning the amount of earnings or by reporting them as higher than they actually are, they may influence the amount of relief granted to a needy family or delay its approval.

The welfare of the children engaged in industrialized agriculture is a consideration secondary to the needs of the crops. The farmers and padrones are primarily interested in the profit to be made, and the children as well as their parents must work hard and fast for long hours in heat, cold, rain, and mud in order to gather the ripe fruits and vegetables before they spoil and to meet the marketing schedule.

Living quarters provided for migratory workers in New Jersey are miserable. Many of the so-called houses are unfit for human habitation, lacking in any provision for comfort or decency. Large families occupy one or two rooms with leaking roof and no screens on doors or windows. The children are subject to all the moral hazards and physical discomforts of overcrowding. Sanitary toilet facilities are almost unknown and drinking water is often unprotected against pollution. When sickness results from these conditions, or accidents occur, those affected must either return to the city for treatment or do without. Health services are not provided by the farmers nor is free service available to nonresidents.

Finally it is in the records of school attendance and educational progress that the most conspicuous evidence of the harmful effects of family migrancy and child labor are to be found. Boys and girls lose so much time from school that there is no hope of their keeping up with their classes. The school children of the 251 families covered in this investigation had lost an average of 39 days from school by reason of their migrancy, with the loss in some cases amounting to more than 120 days. Two out of five were retarded. The average retardation for the city of Philadelphia as a whole is only 1 out of 5.

Not being promoted, migrant children are kept with those younger and smaller than themselves. They get discouraged, lose interest, and don't want to go to school. One father said, "My kids will be dumb, just like me." And yet, it was undoubtedly fathers like him who, indirectly in their capacities as citizens and voters, helped to secure for Pennsylvania its excellent child labor and school attendance laws. Had these families remained in Philadelphia all of their children between 7 and 17 years of age would have been required to attend classes for the entire school year. Across the State line in New Jersey, Pennsylvania laws could not reach them, and even if they could have been spared from their work in the fields, the local schools might not have admitted them.

The intention of legislators is in conflict with the needs of crops and hungry families.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In New Jersey, as in other parts of the country, child labor is only one phase of the many-sided problem of migrancy. The central issue is, unquestionably the low wages paid to agricultural workers, which in turn impel parents to use the labor of their children to supplement family incomes. Solution of this major problem involves in part the inclusion of agriculture under the provisions of State and Federal minimum wage and maximum hour laws, and the organization of farm laborers into unions through which they will be enabled to advance and protect their own interests.

Improvements in housing conditions might be stimulated through the establishment by the Farm Security Administration of model camps in New Jersey similar to those set up in California and Arizona, which might serve as a guide for further advances.

To provide immediate alleviation, particularly for the conditions which most affect children, the following legislative program is proposed:

Child labor.—Children under 14 years of age should not be permitted to engage in agricultural employment except children working directly for their parents about the home or home farm.

Children 14 to 16 years of age should not be permitted to engage in agricultural employment during the hours that the schools are in session in the district of their residence or in the district in which their family resides temporarily for work.

Children 14 to 16 years of age desiring to work outside of school hours and during the vacation period should be required to bring a certificate of age from the district of their residence.

Hours of work for children 14 to 16 years of age engaged in agricultural employment should be limited to 8 a day and 48 a week.

Housing.—A rural housing and sanitation code should be adopted, specifying minimum standards for housing, toilet facilities, protection of the water supply, garbage disposal, etc. Operators of camps should be licensed and held responsible for sanitation and general living conditions in the camps.

Employment agents.—Padrones or others who agree to recruit or furnish labor should be considered employment agents and should be subject to legal regulation, including bonding, in both Pennsylvania and New Jersey. A written contract, including all factors entering into the labor contract, should be required and liability for failure to execute the contract should be fixed by law.

Workmen's compensation.—Agricultural employment should be included under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

CASE STORIES

1. The Dominics maintain a pleasant home for their six children in Philadelphia. But last year Mr. Dominic's earnings as a hatter averaged only $20 a week, and that was scarcely sufficient to pay the rent and provide for the needs of himself, his wife and their five minor children. A twenty-four-year-old daughter earned an additional $10 a week as a finisher, but that was more than offset by the presence in the household of a married daughter and unemployed son-in-law, with whom the little income had to be shared.

So on May 20 Mrs. Dominic took the four youngest children, Carmela, John, Rocco and Louise, whose ages range from 8 to 14, and left the city hoping to earn enough in the harvest fields to make the winter easier for the entire family.

First they went to Millville where they gathered strawberries, then to Hammonton for raspberries and blackberries. In both places the five of them lived in one room, and all except 8-year-old Louise worked in the fields.

They returned to Philadelphia on August 15, but left again September 3 to pick cranberries at Whitesbog. Here they had two rooms in a shack. They had not been there long when a fire broke out in their living quarters and most of their clothing and bedding was burned. They, of course, had no insurance, and the grower would not make good even a part of the loss.

Carmela and Louise left the bogs on October 5 and Rocco on October 12. John remained with his mother for another week. Counting the time lost in both the spring and fall, Carmela and Louise missed 36 school days, Rocco 42 and John 45.

During the entire season, mother and four children earned only $207.00. After their expenses were paid and the property destroyed by fire was replaced there was nothing left to show for more than four months of hard work, discomfort and lost schooling.

2. The six members of the Caruso family had been living on a relief allowance of $14.60 a week for months when a padrone who was hiring workers for the forthcoming summer came to see them. He told them of the possibilities of earning enough at pleasant outdoor work in the country to tide them over at least a part of the winter. They had never done farm work, and were inexperienced at "roughing it" in the country, but were willing to undertake any experience and make any effort to get off relief and be independent again.

The entire family, consisting of father, mother, Joan aged 17, Anna 15, John 14, and Louisa 13, left the city on May 24. They went first to Bridgeton to work in strawberries, then to Hammonton for raspberries and blackberries, back to Bridgeton for peaches and finally to Vincentown for cranberries. In Hammonton the entire family lived in one room in a barn, with horses stabled below. At Bridgeton and Vincentown they had two rooms.

When they returned to Philadelphia on October 19, after nearly 5 months in the country, they had earned a total of $300, out of which they had to pay their living expenses. Two weeks later, disappointed and embittered, they were compelled to apply for reinstatement on relief.

3. The father, mother, and seven children ranging from 7 to 17 years old in the Piravano family, went to the country on April 22. It was very early in the season, which meant that the children would lose a great deal of school, but they were anxious to get off relief and hoped to be able to do planting and cultivating by the day until the strawberries were ready to harvest. However, only Mr. Piravano was able to get day work, and even that was very little.

For more than 2 weeks the children and their mother did nothing at all. After that, the entire family except 9-year-old Marie and 7-year-old Ben worked fairly steadily. First they picked strawberries, then string beans, peas, and tomatoes.

When the family got back to the city on October 1 and the children returned to school, they were "put back" because they had missed 60 days of school. The mother said they "almost cried their eyes out," declaring the teachers had promised they would be promoted.

The family's earnings for the summer amounted to $600. After their expenses and some of their debts were paid this sum was exhausted and they were still 3 months behind in their rent. By November 1 they had made application to get back on relief.

4. There are six children in the Bontempo family, the youngest a baby of 3. Mr. Bontempo is a carpenter who earns about $20 a week—too little for eight people to live on, but enough to prevent their getting help from relief. When a padrone came to their neighborhood to hire workers for the summer, Mrs. Bontempo decided to go with him, taking the six children, baby and all, along.

They left the city on May 29 and did not return until September 22. They spent the entire summer in Wrightstown living in 1 room of an 8-room house that lodged 33 people. There was no toilet of any sort.

First they worked in peas, then in string beans, then in tomatoes, earning a total of $314. During June they did hoeing, weeding, and packing by the day for which they were entitled to an additional $98.50. But the farmer held back their pay for day work until they threatened to leave, and then gave them only $13.50. They came back to the city September 22. When interviewed a month later, they still had not received the $85 owed them.

TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR J. EDWARDS—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Are you of the opinion, Mr. Edwards, that the migratory problem is a national one in its scope?

BELIEVES MIGRATION A NATIONAL PROBLEM

Mr. EDWARDS. Certainly it is a national one in its scope, and New Jersey is one of the stopping places on a round of migratory labor that works seasonally, starting in Florida, and comes up step by step up the coast, until the growing season is ended, and then a large part of it returns to the South to start over the next year.

The Social Security Board sent me this morning the June 1940 copy of the Employment Security Review, which apparently is a publication of the Federal Security Agency, and the Bureau of Employment Security is probably the one which prepares it. I was particularly interested in the leading article, "Migratory Agricultural Workers on the Atlantic Seaboard," by C. W. E. Pittman, Farm Placement Supervisor for North Carolina, in which he gives the travel schedule, on page 6, of the itinerary followed by one group for the past 3 years, and I think that that may be a very good table to put into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will have that down in Washington, you see. They can get it.

Mr. EDWARDS. I just want to call attention to this because it takes this group of 200, they start in near Okeechobee, Fla., in November, working there for 3½ months, and then they are a month in Dade County, Fla., almost 2 months near Hastings, Fla.; two-thirds of a month in South Carolina; two-thirds of a month in North Carolina, and probably a month near Exmore, Va., half a month in Pocomoke City, Md., and then Freehold, N. J., they are there from August 1 to August 15, and then they move on to Long Island City, for another half month, and then they return south.

That is a circuit of about 1,660 miles in several jumps, and we are just one of the stopping points for that particular group of migrants.

You see, New Jersey probably has been testified to as having two very typical sets of migrants. One is composed of the families, largely Italian, who have their homes and live in New Jersey, some in Trenton, and others who have their homes and live in Philadelphia, and they make regular seasonal excursions into the New Jersey farming country for employment.

I asked what a destitute person was, to see whether they would come within it. Most of those persons have fixed places of abode, but they prefer to work in summer rather than accept relief, because they have no employment there. They go back to Philadelphia in the fall, and there are records of their coming back to New Jersey anywhere from 5 to 8 years, successively; that is one group.

CONTRACT OR PEONAGE SYSTEM OF EMPLOYMENT

The other group is very large composed of Negroes who are recruited in the South and brought up here under conditions which I consider quite damnable.

The CHAIRMAN. You consider them what?

Mr. EDWARDS. Quite damnable. They come up under a sort of contract system, a peonage system. The farmer contracts with the contractor to bring so many people up from the South, and some of them probably are brought especially for the potato harvest, and some of them probably make this stop-over, but they are brought up in trucks, traveling through States without obeying the conveyance laws of those particular States, under conditions of travel which in the extreme cases are just hardly believable.

This particular item here relates to travel in the central part of the country, but I think that conditions on the Atlantic coast are not completely different.

Speaking of the Texas placement system:

> Laborers are usually hauled in trucks very much like cattle, at so much per head in advance.

This is the migration from Texas to the beet fields of Michigan:

> Many returning laborers have said that the drivers stopped for fuel and nothing else. Labor stood all the way, and the trip to the north is about 1,600 miles, when you are stranded. Few return home with any fruits of their labor. The Farm Placement Service maintained that such mass movement of transportation facilities are revolting, and should be prevented for the general social good, and is urging interstate cooperation to stop the practice, which usually gluts the labor markets in the beet States.

There is enough of that characteristic of the Atlantic coast, as testified by Mr. Pittman, of North Carolina, so as to make me believe that transportation systems on the Atlantic coast partake of those same characteristics and are subject to the same condemnation.

You ask how many of these laborers there are. That is a very difficult question to answer. I have asked for statistics from the State departments and have not received them. We were told by one person that there were some 4,000 of them, and, on the other hand, a man whose source of information seemed to be reliable, says that there were as many as 40,000 this year, and that New Jersey would have an oversupply of migrant labor.

Now, I offer that statement with great reservation, because I would have liked to have been present when some of the New Jersey Labor Department men were here in order to get it. This inquiry as to number was made before I knew of the existence of this committee, and it has not been answered, and I have not had the time to check personally on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason that we appeared here in the first place was to get the Nation's attention focused on the fact that the migration problem was present in the Northeast section to a certain degree. I think it is only fair to say that it is much more pressing in the States of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, going westward, and the committee realizes that; but we thought, and still think, that there is a migrant problem here, and the probabilities are that it will increase rather than decrease, and we were trying to interest as many States as we possibly can.

Mr. **Edwards.** I might say, parenthetically, that I am a graduate of Stanford and in my junior-senior vacation I nearly went out to pick cherries. I took another job on the campus, which kept me away from that personal experience. New Jersey has very few migrants who were driven away from home by a change in the agricultural situation of their homeland.

Now the so-called "Okies" are driven away by certain meteorological changes and economic changes in the situation under which they own farms, which they find that they cannot cultivate.

I think that New Jersey has very, very few migrants who are brought here because of vital necessity of that character, so that we are vitally different from the problem of the Southwest.

Mr. **Parsons.** Mr. Edwards, we have always had the migrant problem in more or less degree ever since agriculture became a concentrated industry?

Mr. **Edwards.** Yes.

Mr. **Parsons.** Now, the Wheat Belt and the Corn Belt for 50 or 60 years in the Middle West obtained their extra agricultural labor from the regions 40 or 50 up to 200 and 300 miles distant.

Mr. **Edwards.** I was a resident of Minnesota up to about 15 years ago and did business in farm-mortgage loans through North and South Dakota and Montana, so I know a good many of those situations.

Mr. **Parsons.** Machinery has displaced in the last 12 years 41.2 percent of the agricultural manpower of this country.

Now, in the Corn Belt in Illinois and Iowa and those sections they always receive their harvesting assistance from the towns and cities and from the areas of the agricultural regions that were not as productive as the Corn and Wheat Belt sections, but they went in the spring of the year and returned in the winter.

There was not any problem attached to it. They aided those who owned the farms in the regions where they went, and they had a little extra money when they came back home to carry them through the winter. That was the extra source of revenue for them; but this migrant problem on the Seaboard here has developed comparatively recently, as I understand it, since the age of modern transportation, and it does not present a serious problem so far as this committee is concerned, other than that of taking the children out of school and of the sanitary conditions, because they will go back to their places of origin, or place of residence, more or less, each year. It is the roving type that are unsettled that we are more interested in at the moment.

Mr. **Edwards.** I understand so, and that was——

Mr. **Parsons.** And the evidence that has been presented here has not indicated that you really want this seasonal migration stopped, or entirely eliminated, because we have had witnesses here who said it was necessary to have them in order to get this crop harvested.

POSSIBLE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEW JERSEY

Mr. **Edwards**. It is quite necessary. They are here at the invitation and insistent invitation of the New Jersey farmers, and the tremendous growth that New Jersey agriculture has had is the reason.

Now, I don't know whether Mr. Owens gave you any memorandum on some of the things that were in my mind, but this is merely sketched out as a blueprint to use blue pencils on to see whether any of it is possible, and whether any of it is impracticable.

I have had some correspondence with the Farm Security Administration, as to possibilities of New Jersey being eligible for the building of some of the farm camps which have been so tremendously successful in Texas and in Florida, and I have some encouragement in that regard, but it is only some, because the Farm Security Administration does not care to come into any State like ours except upon invitation of the State, and everybody is locally more or less afraid of this problem. It is felt that, if we make it any more comfortable for them, they may not quit at the end of the season, they may want to stick. You will find somewhere in these reports that I have here, that under this contract system under which the Negroes were brought up from Florida the contractor is under obligation to take them out of the State.

I have tried, not very thoroughly, to find out what law that is based upon and I have not found it as yet, though it may be in the New Jersey law, but along with that, if they do leave the State, they don't necessarily return to their homes, but they may be dropped off in Pennsylvania or Virginia, which gives it an interstate aspect.

I understand that, at the beginning of this year, there was a four-State conference of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, I think it was, of State officials particularly interested in this problem. As yet I have seen no printed statement of what conclusions they arrived at. It is a problem in which they are all interested, and it is quite likely that the delay in making reports that I have spoken of is occasioned by difficulties encountered in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion.

I have talked, or I have corresponded, with the Farm Security Administration, about this just purely as a tentative project, to be criticized and blue-penciled, and nothing done about it until we find out whether New Jersey itself wants it. I feel that a permanent labor camp might well be built right there at Port Norris (Shellpile). The situation there seems opportune for one, and that is a situation where the camp could be kept full most of the months of the year.

The trouble with Jersey is that the camps cannot be kept filled for a very long time, and so along with that I have considered a teaming up of two or three of these so-called movable camps which might be moved from one county to another, in the South half of Jersey, as the season advanced. I haven't the calendar, but some of the berries, I think, come on first, and potatoes come on about the 20th of July, and they were a little late this year, and following the potatoes there are some more berries, and then the cranberry-picking, which goes on until the frost is there.

Such a team of camps might, I think, very well be built by the Federal Government and moved around as the season advances, and these people moved from one place to another, because most of these picking seasons are in one spot and only last, we will say, 2 to 6 weeks—that is the devil of the thing—it all has to be geared to crop season, and the farmer is anxious to be sure of his labor, so he probably underestimates the time when harvesting will start, and he gets them very early.

And then when the crop reaches maturity, he has to work them like everything to get there while the crops are still in their prime. Another trouble in the potato fields is that the potatoes are handled on such a small margin of profit that the farmer is stated at times to postpone the digging of his potatoes until the price is right, which keeps the laborers he has got there for that purpose unemployed.

The potatoes are very peculiar. You can plant potatoes and cultivate potatoes, and you can finally uproot them from the ground, all by machinery, but the very last process of picking them out of the dirt, and shaking the dirt off of them seems to be a hand process that has not been mechanized as yet, and that is why the great number of laborers were required for that particular thing.

Then we have this point here. There is the problem of employment of a lot of our relief labor, and one difficulty is that relief labor sees no reason to leave relief and go over and earn the very meager wages which are ordinary for picking potatoes and tomatoes.

But along with that system of camps, if we had one, I would ask that the New Jersey Employment Service study the record of such States as Texas, which has got it down to about as near a science as one can have it at the moment, by finding out where that labor is needed and how much is needed, in very exact terms of appraisal, and then, having full knowledge of where the pools of labor are located, they try to steer a certain amount of labor into the region where it is needed, and to steer another group of laborers into some other part. Intensification of that placement system is one of the things that I somewhat envision that we may help in bringing about.

The CHAIRMAN. Not interrupting you, but are you familiar with the report of the New Jersey migrant centers, the Council of Women for Home Missions?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read this?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read you extracts from it and then you tell me whether these extracts are true or not.

Mr. EDWARDS. Did Miss Lowry appear this morning?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; she appeared this morning.

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, you know she gave you the general background of their work.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, listen:

> In 1939, in New Jersey, cheap labor was the migrant Negro worker from Florida, and cheap labor it was. Regardless of what has been said in newspapers to the effect that workers can earn $3 to $4 a day, I know definitely that the average top wage per worker during the 5-week period, July 24 to August 26, was about $5.60 a week, while the wage for as many as 30 percent was anywhere from $1 to 75 cents.

And it goes on about the contractor proposition. You are familiar with this, Mr. Edwards?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

> A worker receives 3 cents per bushel bag, which weighs from 125 to 145 pounds. Workers who run the grader and sew the sacks get 25 cents an hour. Two hundred and fifty sacks of potatoes per hour and a quarter are about $1.55 for the 5 men who work the grader. Hence, on 250 bags of potatoes, field labor work is about $6.50, and grader labor, $1.75, total $1.85. The contractor gets from the farmer about $11.25 profit. But this is not all.
>
> The contractor receives the $2 for delivering each worker, and then he also charges each worker $3.50, a total of $5.50, or $5.50 transportation price, to bring up 100 workers from Florida on a truck, and, if he is to take them back after the season is over, it is $3.50 more. Otherwise he takes them to Virginia and abandons them, since by law he must remove them from New Jersey.
>
> Now, the dire evil is that at least 100 of these people will never do any work, but he brought them merely for transportation profit. He charges them for everything. Most of the families that come up are as much as $25 to $50 in debt to him before they earn a dime. A family of 5, $17.50 transportation, about $6 a week board. So we can see the real profits are not made from 8 cents a sack he gets from the farmer, but the contractor exploits these miserable workers who earn his living for him.

Now, you say that you have made investigation, and would you say that that depicts a true picture of the situation?

Mr. EDWARDS. I would say that the general tenor of it is true. I have a personal acquaintance with Miss Lowry, who was responsible for editing that document, and I do not think that she would deliberately include any statements by her co-workers which would misrepresent any situation.

I have already adverted to that matter of whether or not they have to go outside of the State. I don't know on that. The detail of employment, I don't know, nor the terms of it, but from other sources I do understand that under the contractor system he practically collects most of the profits out of it.

I was looking at the moment for some statement in this New Jersey report which would confirm in general terms the wage scales, although I would say that there is a probability that what you have read may be a little lower than the average.

The State of New Jersey put out an extraordinarily detailed and statisticized report on farm labor, but somehow or other this migrant labor does not seem to be included in there, and so I got no satisfaction from reading their figures. That is one reason why I would like to have conferred with Mr. Krueger, of New Jersey, for instance.

This statement in the New Jersey crop and livestock report, at the bottom of page 5, indicates a higher wage scale, but I strongly am of the opinion that that refers to the so-called permanent labor, and not to emergency labor.

Without standing sponsor for the statistical accuracy of some of the lower figures, I would think that she (Miss Lowry) presents a reasonably accurate general picture.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Mr. Edwards, for your contribution.

Mr. EDWARDS. May I add this word, that if we do figure out some local demand for some of those Farm Security Administration buildings, we can at least correspond with you, and let you know if we are interested in them? I do think that this matter of interstate contract labor is something that comes directly down your alley, because the conditions of it seem extraordinary when we consider what authority Congress has taken in the Mann Act and a lot of these other transportation acts, and stolen automobiles, and so forth, over State lines. This is a movement of labor across State lines, and you already have dealt with that in the matter of strikebreakers, and so forth. It is something which I think should interest you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. EDWARDS. You are welcome to any of those documents which you would like.

The CHAIRMAN. We can get them down in Washington. I think that we have them.

This hearing will adjourn with this understanding, that for a 2-week period anyone who desires to may present a statement or anything of that kind. We will be only too glad to hold the record open for that time, as well as for pictures that we are obtaining.

In other words, for anyone who wants to present anything on the New Jersey and New England States that is pertinent to this migrant problem we will hold the record over for a period of 2 weeks.

Thank you very much. The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

(The following statements were submitted later:)

[Reprinted from The Journal-Lancet, Minneapolis, April 1937, vol. LVII, No. 4, p. 148]

SICK, BROKE, AND FOOTLOOSE [1]

H. E. Kleinschmidt, M. D.,[2] New York City

At least one type of citizen in the United States stubbornly defies regimentation, classification, or control. He is the tuberculous transient who has come West seeking a climatic cure, exhausted his resources, and now wanders from place to place on foot, on brake rods, or in a dilapidated auto. In jungles, shacks, and flop houses he pauses when he must. He has lost his claim as a resident of the home town he deserted, and is not welcomed as a resident elsewhere, since he is regarded as a bum without visible means of support, but with a very visible need of relief. He is not, in the main, getting well of his consumption—salubrious climate notwithstanding. In many instances he is accompanied by his worried wife and half-starved children. Worst of all, he is a prolific sower of the seed that causes tuberculosis, for even the respectable, cautious resident cannot escape contact with him directly or indirectly at the filling station, restaurant, tourist camp, and lodging-house.

No census has been taken of tuberculous wanderers, but a conservative estimate, based on observations of transient officers, is that their number exceeds 1,000 in the States of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, western Texas, and southern California. This number, however, includes only the obvious consumptives—obvious, that is, to the nonmedical social worker. If a more thorough and precise case-finding search were made, including X-ray examinations, the army of indigent tuberculous in the Southwest would doubtless exceed 5,000.

The problem is an old one; at the very beginning of the tuberculosis movement the National Tuberculosis Association supported a vigorous get-well-at-home campaign because even then the distress of consumptives stranded far away from home called loudly for relief. The campaign succeeded only in small measure, so firmly had the magic of climate taken root in the mind, not only of the common man, but also the physician. Climate does have therapeutic value; but only as a supplement to the more rational treatment of rest, good hygiene, and medical care. To sacrifice home comfort, economic security, and decent care for the elusive promise of climate is more risky than hunting gold in Alaska.

Attention is again being focused on the plight of the tuberculous transient. This came about through the activities of transient shelters hastily set up by the Emergency Relief Administration 3 years ago in an effort to "freeze" the army of aimless wanderers. Naturally, the sick were separated from the well in these shelters, and soon it was found that about one-third of the sick were tuberculous. These were segregated in such special buildings as were readily available. In Nogales, Ariz., for example, an old military barrack used during the Mexican border dispute was utilized. Medical service was secured from the adjoining town, nurses were employed, and shortly tuberculosis units were running full blast.

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[1] Prepared expressly for the special tuberculosis issue of the Journal-Lancet.

[2] Director, health education, National Tuberculosis Association.

With makeshift equipment and labor drawn from among transients not too sick to work, these units performed a heroic and very creditable service. Some of them were almost completely self-contained; they sheltered patients, maintained a farm, killed and dressed their own beef, manufactured crude coffins, and buried their dead. Social workers investigated each case carefully, returned some patients to their homes, placed the families of others in shelters, and in numerous ways helped to solve individual problems. Best of all, some 500 patients known to have tuberculosis in communicable form, were taken out of circulation, so to speak, and given at least the first essentials for recovery, namely, bed rest and nourishing food. The service cost averaged less than $1 per patient per day. Perhaps no relief money was ever better spent, from a social viewpoint, than the thrifty sums contributed for the maintenance of tuberculosis units.

When, last fall, the time came for the Federal Government to liquidate its transient service, consternation spread among the workers in charge of sick transients. There was no hope of transferring the activity to State or local budgets. No other alternative seemed open except to turn the sick out into the desert.

Fortunately, the fine work of tuberculosis units attracted the favorable attention of Work Projects Administration officials. A small unexpended fund was found, and a temporary stay of the threatened demobilization was granted. At the same time, however, the intake of new patients was stopped, and only existing beds were continued.

In this emergency the National Tuberculosis Association, in the spring of 1936, called a conference in Santa Fe to consider the problem. Health officers, tuberculosis executives, and transient workers met for 2 days to analyze the situation. A representative of the United States Public Health Service was present and participated in the discussions. The complexity and immensity of the transient problem in general seemed at first so overwhelming that every measure proposed led to greatest confusion. Very wisely, however, this group decided to limit its consideration to the tuberculous transient as a spreader of a communicable disease.

Tuberculosis is undeniably a communicable disease and, as Disraeli said years ago, the first obligation of any government is to safeguard the health of its people. The emphasis was placed, not so much on the distressing need of sick individuals, as upon the opportunity of protecting the public in general.

Since a person with a communicable disease creates an interstate problem when he crosses State borders, the consensus was that the control of tuberculosis among transients is a function the Federal Government might perform better than the several States; but that the final responsibility for many of these cases must rest on the States from which the tuberculous transients come.

Whoever assumes the tasks of controlling the spread of disease through indigent transients, the question as to how this shall be done remains to perplex the most experienced health and social workers. Forcible detention is in bad odor—tuberculosis is not yet regarded by the public as seriously as leprosy, for example. Deportation to point of origin would not solve the larger problem and for some patients who have the fixed idea that their very lives depend upon living in this or that climate, it would be inhumanly cruel to send them home, wrong though they might be. To erect sanatoria in resort areas would result in luring persons from all parts of the country, and thus aggravate the evil. Families would come with them and, not being eligible as patients, would be dumped upon the mercy of social agencies in cities and towns nearby, already swamped with appeals from their own people.

One proposal made is that colonies be established in the great open spaces for entire families. But the States where they would be most likely to settle are least able to support such an enterprise and the Federal Government can hardly be expected to finance it, at least not until the broad problem of transiency is tackled through sweeping legislation such as that proposed in the Trammell-Wilcox bill recently before Congress. Self-support of such a colony is a fatuous hope, and it seems unlikely that many families would consent to be herded together in that manner. And if such colonies, because of good management and by providing attractive living conditions should succeed, we would again be confronted by the problem of preventing the influx of families from all over the country who had better remain where they are.

At present the United States Public Health Service is studying the situation to see what facilities are available. The situation is probably not as hopeless as it might have been a few years ago. One advantage is that the country generally is now better equipped to care for its tuberculous residents near at home. Another advantage not to be had a few years ago are modern weapons that are now used to combat tuberculosis. Isolation of the carriers in sanatoria is, of course, the crux of the situation, but there are also new developments in diagnosis and treatment which make the control of tuberculous transients, even in the absence of adequate beds, more workable than some years ago. For example, collapse surgery enables the otherwise bed-ridden patient to carry on light work, and this treatment also renders him bacillus-free which means that he promptly ceases to be a danger to others. Fifty percent or more of all tuberculous patients can be successfully collapsed, and so-called ambulatory pneumothorax treatment is now an accepted procedure. There are furthermore better methods of case finding. It would not be Utopian to propose that all transients be X-rayed, which would lead to the discovery not only of obvious cases, but also of those in the earlier stages who by prompt action could soon be restored to health.

Meantime there is need for a vigorous educational campaign in areas from which most of the transients come, to point out the futility of bartering the chance to get well for the flimsy promise of a climatic cure. The National Tuberculosis Association was enjoined by the Santa Fe conference to lead such a campaign. Another necessary reform needed is the radical revision of State settlement laws. The present system is an archaic one, uncoordinated, chaotic, and often working unjust hardships on residents and newcomers. Among the groups giving attention to this problem are: The American Public Welfare Association, the National Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, and the Continuing Committee of the Interstate Conference on Transients and Settlement Laws.

"No home is safe until every home is safe," is an old slogan used by tuberculosis associations. Until we have come to grips with the tuberculous transient, we cannot hope to guarantee safety to the rest of American citizens.

SHADE-GROWN TOBACCO

[Statement prepared by Arthur W. Stuart, with the assistance of members of the committee's staff]

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE GROWING OF SHADE TOBACCO IN THE CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY

Source of labor.—Shade-grown tobacco, which is used as wrappers for cigars, is produced in the Connecticut River Valley in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Most of the cultivation must be done by hand, and in the harvest season large numbers of workers are required. The supply of labor is provided in part by year-round employees on the farms, but mostly by seasonal workers, principally from Hartford and Springfield, who are brought in daily by truck, and to some extent by migratory tobacco workers from other areas.[1] The use of migratory labor is an established practice of long standing. In 1919 notice was made of the fact that some of the growers were bringing up Negro students from southern colleges in squads as contract labor, and some Negro women were brought from the South with an agreement as to minimum wages.[2] The report of the commissioner of labor of the State of Connecticut for the period ending June 30, 1938, stated that on 5 plantations inspected there were employed approximately 200 workers who came from the South for the harvest season.[3]

In July 1936 in the New York Times an article appeared under the caption "Connecticut crop lacks harvesters."[4] The article stated that several growers, including Fessler Warehouse, the farms of S. L. Anderson and Joseph Valuti, and in South Manchester the Leone and Smith plantations reported their inability to obtain workers and failure to induce men to leave Work Projects Administration and relief rolls and come to work. Three days later another article appeared reporting the Connecticut State commissioner of agriculture, Olcott F. King, as denying the existence of a labor shortage in Connecticut tobacco fields. He declared the story had been circulated among some newspapers for the purpose of inducing labor from outside the State to come into the tobacco fields.[5]

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[1] Ramsey, Edith: A Short History of Tobacco Production in the Connecticut Valley, Smith College Studies in History, Northampton, 1930, p. 173.

[2] Welles, Mary Cromwell: Child Laborers in the Shade-Grown Tobacco Industry in Connecticut, Hartford, 1919, p. 2.

[3] Report of the State of Connecticut Department of Labor and Factory Inspection, 1936–38, Hartford, 1939, p. 43.

[4] New York Times, July 27, 1936, 8 : 4.

Employment of child labor.—The employment of children has long been a characteristic of shade-grown tobacco production. Because the leaves are plucked from stalks grown under low "tents," it has been found convenient to use boys in the harvesting operation, for they can work in a stooped posture more easily than men, although even the smallest suffers from kneeling and strained muscles. The use of shade aids in keeping the temperature even throughout the day and night but increases the humidity by 15 or 20 degrees, and the employment of young boys in performing their tedious task of picking in an artificially produced humidity is a problem in itself.[6]

Because labor laws in Connecticut do not apply as fully to agriculture as to industry, the State has developed a special program which has to some extent reduced the amount of child labor used in growing tobacco. This program, dating from 1932, rests on agreements entered into by the Connecticut Department of Labor with individual growers, by which the latter agree not to employ children under 14 years of age. Approximately 90 percent of the growers signed these agreements in 1932, and they have been renewed annually.[7] Although it is true that these agreements have resulted in a general decrease in the number of younger children employed, the 1938 report indicated that an adequate system of certification of young workers was found on only one of the plantations inspected. Investigators interviewed children on each plantation included in their survey and several admitted that they were under 14 years of age.[8]

Working conditions.—Working conditions among shade tobacco workers have been found unsatisfactory in many instances. Most of the stringing of the tobacco leaves is done by girls and women in the sheds. "Clouds of dust, caused by a constant stream of teams passing through the sheds delivering the freshly picked leaves are very disagreeable. Also, the sticky, gummy substance which oozes from the leaves when handled quickly collects dirt and is extremely uncomfortable to the workers." [9] It is not unusual for workers handling fresh, green leaves to be troubled for 1, 2, or more days with nausea, because of the extent of nicotine, from 1½ to 9 percent contained in the leaves.[10]

On 4 of 10 plantations inspected by the Connecticut officials in 1938,[11] it was found that no first-aid kits were kept in the sheds. "One farm provided no toilet facilities whatsoever for the harvest help. Seven more had privies for women only. Ten had privies for both sexes. On eleven farms, however, they were not marked 'Men' or 'Women.' On about half of the plantations outhouses were dirty. Few were cleaned regularly or were properly equipped." Fifteen growers out of 18 provided a covered container for drinking water for field and shed workers. Five also had sanitary bubblers or paper cups. On 13 farms, however, all the workers in a gang drank from common dippers. "Since some of the employees were known to have serious, communicable diseases, the health hazard resulting from such poor equipment was obvious." [12]

Adrian F. McDonald, in his study of tobacco production in 1936 comments that there is one source of accidents which appears small but which is probably of as much importance as any other. Not so many years ago, he points out, sheds were constructed with movable beams to utilize all space available with the result that many injuries were caused by falling beams. Today producers are tending to sacrifice some space to insure safety by nailing all beams in the shed in such a way that they do not fall.[13]

Living conditions.—Because a large number of the harvest force come from some distance away, it is appropriate to comment on their living conditions during the working season. Nine of the farms visited by Connecticut Department of Labor investigators in 1938 operated their own boarding houses, while privately operated boarding houses were found on or near four plantations, and one had both types.[14] "The customary charge for room and board was $7 a week.

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[5] New York Times, July 30, 1936, 34 : 4.

[6] McDonald, Adrain Francis: The History of Tobacco Production in Connecticut, New Haven, 1936, p. 22.

[7] U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau, The Child, September 1937, p. 62.

[8] Report of the Connecticut Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 42.

[9] McDonald, op cit., pp. 22 ff.

[10] Welles, op. cit., p. 5.

[11] Report of the Connecticut Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 43.

[12] Ibid.

[13] McDonald, op. cit., p. 22.

[14] Report of the Connecticut Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 43.

The children usually could not afford to buy meals. Hence they paid $1.50 to $2 a week for bed and coffee, and bought their food from peddlers or whatever small store there might be near the plantation. They were allowed to cook this food at the rooming house and to use the icebox if there was one. Lack of refrigeration, high prices, and limited supplies at local stores, and lack of time for cooking often combined to lead these children to live on a dangerously inadequate diet. Milk, meat, and fresh vegetables were generally lacking. A number of instances where the children's health had suffered were called to the attention of the inspectors. One grower had become dissatisfied with this situation and provided a hot dinner for 30 cents for all his young boarders, most of whom took advantage of it. While definite improvements have been made in eliminating fire hazards and improving sanitary facilities on certain plantations, much remains to be done on others. For example, of two private boarding houses which the labor department condemned in 1937 as physically and morally unfit for the young girls who roomed there, one had been supplanted the following year by a satisfactory company-operated structure, which was properly supervised. The other still took women and girl boarders in such numbers that, at the height of the 1938 season, some were forced to sleep on the floor without bedding." [15]

Growers who hire migrant workers from the South have been reported to require them to defray their own transportation costs to and from their place of employment in Connecticut.[16] They do, however, provide these workers with lodging and pay the cooks. The average weekly food bill of each of them costs from $2 to $4, although the lodgings provided for this group of laborers were rather primitive (1938) they were kept generally in reasonably good condition. On one plantation Negroes were well housed in buildings formerly used for a Civilian Conservation Corps camp.[17]

Hours.—In 1936 the Connecticut Department of Labor reported that on five of eight plantations inspected, employees worked 9 hours a day and 54 hours a week; two plantations operated on a 9½-hour day and 57-hour week; and one on a 10-hour day and 60-hour week. Two of the three plantations where the longer work week prevailed were the ones where apparently the least effort was made to avoid hiring very young workers.[18] In 1938 the weekly work week was 6 working days of 9 or 9½ hours each. On more than half the plantations the 57-hour week was standard. It was pointed out that many nonresident workers required an hour or more to get to work, and for this reason a large number of children left home before 6 o'clock in the morning for work in the tobacco fields and did not return until after 6 in the evening. On six plantations employers reported they worked overtime fairly often. The report makes the interesting observation: "Although tobacco work is as repetitive and fatiguing as most factory processes, thousands of women and minors under 18, whose hours of work would be limited to 48 a week in a Connecticut factory, work 54 to 57 hours a week in Connecticut tobacco fields for much less pay than is customary in factories for shorter hours." [19]

Wages.—According to the Connecticut Department of Labor survey, cited above, it was found that unskilled shed workers received $1.50 to $2 a day; boys picking tobacco in the fields made from $1.75 to $2.50. Older boys who were usually employed to drag baskets of leaves out to the trucks, ranged from $2.25 to $3 per day. Occasionally boys doing the same work as men were paid much less. On three farms the workers from the South received $2.25 per day. On another, $2.25 was paid plus a bonus of 25 cents per day if they worked to the end of the season, and $2.75 on the remaining farm. It is the custom on the majority of farms to pay day workers only for the hours they actually work. Frequent delays due to bad weather substantially reduce the earnings of these workers.[20]

Structure of the shade tobacco-growing industry.—The fragmentary data which are available and which have been summarized above indicate that the growing of shade tobacco is a highly industrialized type of production in terms of the employment of large numbers of workers on farms. The total number of workers required to produce the Connecticut River Valley crop is not accurately known, but the importance of wage labor is indicated by the fact that in 1929, 73 large-scale tobacco farms in Connecticut, the output of which was valued at $6,807,000 in that year, expended $2,311,000 for hired farm labor.[21]

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., p. 44.
[17] Ibid.
[18] The Child, op. cit., p. 62.
[19] Report of the Connecticut Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 42.
[20] Ibid., pp. 42–43.

In 1939 there were only 54 growers of shade tobacco in the Connecticut River Valley.[22] The total farm value of this crop, however, was $3,636,000.[23] The characteristically large-scale nature of shade tobacco growing is indicated by the fact that the average value of the tobacco crop per grower in this year was in excess of $67,000. However, a distribution of tobacco growers by size indicates that three large concerns in 1939 accounted for nearly two-fifths of the acreage. Table 1 presents a frequency distribution of shade tobacco growers by acreage in tobacco for the years 1934 to 1939, inclusive, together with the total acreage operated by growers in each size group. Chart 1 shows graphically the distribution of growers and acreage for 1939. These data indicate the striking degree to which control of production is concentrated in the hands of a small number of large growers.

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[21] Calculated from Jennings, R. D. Large Scale Farming in the United States, 1929. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1933, pp. 26, 26. Not all of these tobacco farms produced shade tobacco, but a large proportion of them unquestionably grew this type.

[22] Report of the Associate Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, in Charge of the Division of Marketing and Marketing Agreements, and the president of the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation, 1939, Washington, 1939, p. 36.

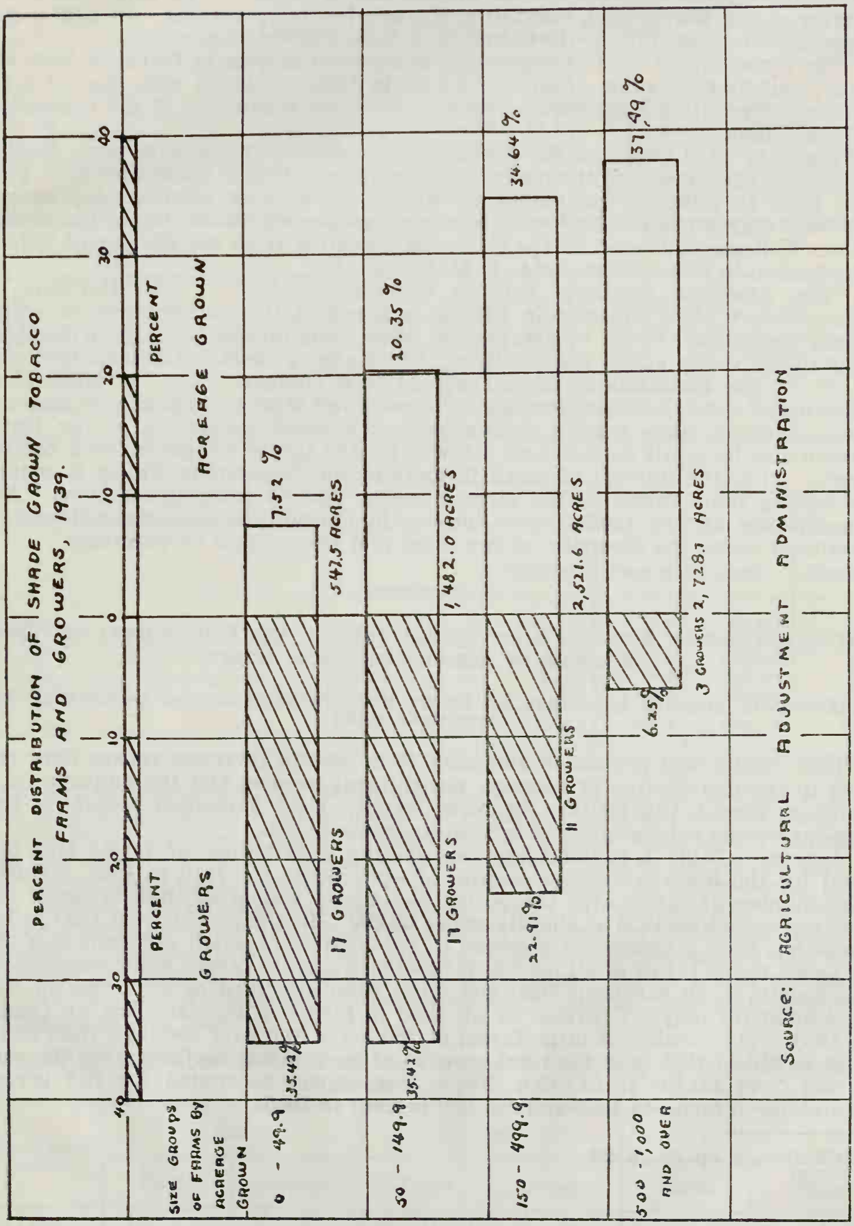
[23] Ibid.

TABLE 1.—*Shade-grown tobacco production in the Connecticut Valley, 1934–39; number and percent of total acreage grown and growers; classified according to size of farms*

[Source: Agricultural Adjustment Administration]

Size groups of farms by acreage grown	1934				1935				1936			
	Growers		Acreage grown		Growers		Acreage grown		Growers		Acreage grown	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
0 to 49.9	12	32.43	365.7	8.07	18	38.30	517.5	9.41	17	35.42	530.8	8.70
50 to 149.9	20	54.06	1,773.2	39.13	18	38.30	1,399.0	25.51	20	41.67	1,654.0	27.08
150 to 499.9	4	10.81	1,418.9	31.31	9	19.15	1,971.8	35.94	9	18.75	2,163.9	35.42
500 to 1,000 and over	1	2.70	973.5	21.49	2	4.25	1,598.5	29.14	2	4.16	1,759.2	28.80
Total	37	100.00	4,531.3	100.00	47	100.00	5,486.8	100.00	48	100.00	6,107.9	100.00

Size groups of farms by acreage grown	1937				1938				1939			
	Growers		Acreage grown		Growers		Acreage grown		Growers		Acreage grown	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
0 to 49.9	13	28.89	446.1	6.47	19	35.19	572.3	7.90	17	35.42	547.5	7.52
50 to 149.9	20	44.44	1,713.5	24.84	22	40.74	1,818.0	25.10	17	35.42	1,482.0	20.35
150 to 499.9	9	20.00	2,080.0	30.15	10	18.52	2,296.7	31.72	11	22.91	2,521.6	34.64
500 to 1,000 and over	3	6.67	2,658.3	38.54	3	5.55	2,555.2	35.28	3	6.25	2,728.7	37.49
Total	45	100.00	6,898.3	100.00	54	100.00	7,242.2	100.00	48	100.00	7,279.8	100.00



PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SHADE GROWN TOBACCO FARMS AND GROWERS, 1939.

SOURCE: AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION

The operations of the larger growers display a high degree of vertical integration, including not only growing but processing, marketing, and, in some cases, the actual manufacture of the finished product—cigars. The largest single grower of shade tobacco in 1939 was the American Sumatra Tobacco Corporation and the second largest was the Consolidated Cigar Corporation.

The American Sumatra Tobacco Corporation owns land not only in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but also in Florida and Georgia.[24] The corporation owns drying sheds, warehouses, and full equipment for its operations. In 1939 it grew approximately one-fifth of the Connecticut Valley shade-tobacco crop.

The Consolidated Cigar Corporation is reported to own 11 farms in New England, and its production of shade tobacco in 1939, combined with that of a subsidiary corporation, amounted to one-eighth of the production of the Connecticut River Valley

The data cited above on the distribution of growers by acreage were obtained from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Their classification of growers fails to indicate the extent to which interlocking relationships between growers may prevail. That such relationships are significant in the Connecticut River Valley is indicated by the following quotation from the History of Tobacco Production in Connecticut, by A. F. McDonald:[25]

"The American Sumatra Tobacco Corporation * * * the Hartman Tobacco Co. * * * formed in 1928 as a result of the consolidation of several small companies * * * and several other corporations (are) growing shade-leaf in the valley at the present time. Chief among them is Cullman Bros., Inc. * * * The Consolidated Cigar Corporation is another. * * * Much of the land under shade is owned outright by these (and other) companies or rented by them under various leasing arrangements. A small proportion of the leaf is grown also by small independent farmers for the larger companies on a contract basis. Thus the interest of small farmers in the Connecticut Valley is confined to leasing their farms to the large concerns and to working for them. As a consequence all the shade-grown tobacco in Connecticut and Massachusetts is produced under the direction of two large and seven small corporations."

Distribution of Acreage, Agricultural Income, and Employment of Wage Earners in Agriculture, New Jersey

[Statement prepared by Arthur W. Stuart with the assistance of members of the committee's staff]

This exhibit will present in summary form certain pertinent census data relative to the distribution of acreage, agricultural income, and the employment of wage earners in agriculture in New Jersey. Data presented herein is from regular census volumes, except where otherwise noted.

Acreage.—Table 1 summarizes data on the distribution of farms and farm land for the State from the censuses of agriculture for 1910 to 1935, inclusive. The number of farms over the period has varied somewhat, but has been relatively stable since 1920 at slightly under 30,000. In the period from 1920 to 1935 there has been a significant increase in the number of small farms of less than 20 acres, but in terms of all land in farms these smaller farms, while representing one-fourth of all farms in 1920 and more than one-third of all farms in 1935, accounted for only 3.1 percent of all land in farms in 1920 and but 4.6 percent in 1935. The number of large farms of 260 acres and over declined from 638 in 1920 to 610 in 1935, and the total acreage of such farms declined over the same period from 381,146 to 318,430. These large farms accounted for 16.7 percent of all land in farms in 1920 and for 16.6 percent in 1935.

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[24] McDonald, op. cit., p. 23.
[25] Ibid.

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of farms and all land in farms by size of farm, New Jersey, 1910–35*

Size of farm (acres)	1910				1920			
	Farms		Acreage		Farms		Acreage	
	Number	Percent	Acres	Percent	Number	Percent	Acres	Percent
0 to 19	8,073	24.1	77,541	3.0	7,222	24.3	69,675	3.1
20 to 99	15,801	47.2	828,869	52.2	14,130	47.6	742,159	32.5
100 to 174	7,207	21.5	911,564	54.4	6,251	21.1	789,749	34.6
175 to 259	1,659	5.0	755,883	29.4	1,461	4.9	299,856	13.1
260 and over	747	2.2			638	2.1	381,146	16.7
Total	33,487	100.0	2,573,857	100.0	29,702	100.0	2,282,585	100.0

Size of farm (acres)	1925				1930			
0 to 19	9,275	31.3	83,907	4.4	7,587	29.9	65,551	3.7
20 to 99	13,271	44.7	684,325	35.5	11,157	44.0	584,507	33.2
100 to 174	5,414	18.2	680,204	35.3	4,946	19.5	625,168	35.6
175 to 259	1,216	4.1	247,668	12.9	1,156	4.5	237,234	13.5
260 and over	495	1.7	228,441	11.9	532	2.1	245,567	14.0
Total	29,671	100.0	1,924,545	100.0	25,378	100.0	1.758,027	100.0

Size of farms (acres)	1935			
	Farms		Acreage	
	Number	Percent	Acres	Percent
0 to 19	10,424	35.5	88,564	4.6
20 to 99	12,113	41.2	619,930	32.4
100 to 174	4,962	16.9	627,782	32.8
175 to 259	1,266	4.3	259,404	13.6
260 and over	610	2.1	318,430	16.6
Total	29,375	100.0	1,914,110	100.0

Table 2 is arranged in a fashion similar to table 1, but for the years 1924, 1929, and 1934, gives the distribution of cropland harvested, rather than all land in farms, by size of farm. Comparison of table 2 with table 1 indicates that the concentration of harvested cropland on farms of larger acreage is less marked than the concentration of all land in farms. In other words, there is a tendency on medium and smaller size farms to cultivate and harvest a higher proportion of the land in farms than is the case on the larger farms.

Table 2 indicates, however, that between 1924 and 1934, farms of 175 acres and over increased in numbers, and that these larger farms, which accounted for 19.7 percent of all cropland harvested in 1924, had increased this percentage to 23.4 in 1934.

TABLE 2.—*Distribution of farms and cropland harvested by size of farm, New Jersey, 1924–34*

Size of farm (acres)	1924				1929				1934			
	Farms		Acreage		Farms		Acreage		Farms		Acreage	
	Number	*Percent*	*Acres*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Acres*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Acres*	*Percent*
0 to 19	9,275	31.3	40,780	4.5	7,587	29.9	27,185	3.5	10,424	35.5	41,761	4.8
20 to 99	13,271	44.7	352,764	38.9	11,157	44.0	284,447	36.6	12,113	41.2	309,801	35.8
100 to 174	5,414	18.2	335,488	36.9	4,946	19.5	293,151	37.7	4,962	16.9	310,819	36.0
175 to 259	1,216	4.1	104,718	11.5	1,156	4.5	96,623	12.4	1,266	4.3	113,526	13.1
260 and over	495	1.7	74,004	8.2	532	2.1	75,548	9.8	610	2.1	88,836	10.3
Total	29,671	100.0	907,754	100.0	25,378	100.0	776,954	100.0	29,375	100.0	864,743	100.0

Income.—Table 3 is a distribution of all farms in the State in 1929 by value of products sold, traded, or used, with an estimated distribution of total value by size groups. The distribution is of farms reporting the value of products, and is somewhat less than the total of all farms in the State.

TABLE 3.—*Number of farms and value of products sold, traded, or used, New Jersey*

Size groups of value of product	Number of farms	Percent of all farms	Value in dollars	Percent of all value of product
Under $1,000	6, 255	26. 2	$3, 573, 275	4. 0
$1,000 to $2,499	6, 793	28. 5	11, 483, 750	12. 8
$2,500 to $3,999	4, 011	16. 8	13, 035, 750	14. 5
$4,000 to $5,999	3, 032	12. 7	15, 160, 000	16. 8
$6,000 to $9,999	2, 346	9. 8	18, 768, 000	20. 8
$10,000 and over	1, 419	6. 0	27, 997, 515	31. 1
Total	23, 856	100. 0	90, 018, 290	100. 0

Some concentration of income is indicated by the fact that 1,419 farms reporting value of products of $10,000 or over, comprising only 6 percent of all farms reporting, accounted for nearly one-third of the total value reported by all farms. Farms reporting less than $2,500, on the other hand, represented more than one-half of all farms reporting, but accounted for only one-sixth of the total value reported.

A somewhat higher concentration of income on fruit, truck, and dairy farms in the State is indicated by a special study of large-scale farming based on the census of 1930.[1] Table 4 below presents data concerning farms of these types which received incomes of $30,000 or more in 1929.

TABLE 4.—*Large-scale fruit, truck, and dairy farms, New Jersey, 1929*

Type	Number of farms	Percent of all farms of type	Income received by specified large scale farms	Total percent of income received by all farms of type
Fruit	41	3. 0	$1, 560, 947	26. 6
Truck	33	. 6	2, 011, 287	10. 1
Dairy	50	1. 0	5, 463, 131	18. 6

Table 4 indicates that large scale farms of these types, while a very small proportion of all farms of the respective types, were of much greater significance in terms of value of products.

Employment of wage earners.—Fourteen thousand six hundred and forty-eight New Jersey farms reported expenditures for hired labor in 1929 totaling $17,522,491. The principal types of farms in terms of expenditures for labor were fruit, truck, dairy, and crop specialty farms, which accounted for approximately three-fifths of all expenditures. A high percentage of all-crop specialty farms were potato farms. Amounts expended by these types of farms were as follows:

Fruit	$1, 541, 307
Truck	4, 212, 132
Dairy	4, 418, 562
Crop specialty	1, 101, 491

Some data relative to the distribution of wage earners, or expenditures for labor on farms is available from census sources. Table 5 classifies farms on the basis of amounts spent for hired labor in 1909.

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[1] Jennings, R. D., "Large Scale Farming in the United States, 1929," Bureau of the Census, 1933, p. 26.

TABLE 5.—*Farms classified by expenditures for hired labor, and total expenditures, New Jersey, 1909*

[Source: Plantation Farming in the United States, Bureau of the Census, 1916]

Expenditures for hired labor	Number of farms	Percent of all farms	Amounts expended	Percent of all expenditures
None	10, 039	30. 0		
Less than $500	19, 105	57. 0	$4, 268, 564	38. 5
$500 and less than $1,000	2, 731	8. 2	2, 321, 676	20. 9
$1,000 and over	1, 612	4. 8	4, 507, 487	40. 6
Total	33, 487	100. 0	11, 097, 727	100

Farms expending $1,000 and over, which constituted less than 5 percent of all farms in this year, accounted for slightly more than two-fifths of all expenditures for labor. One-eighth of all farms, those expending $500 or more, accounted for more than three-fifths of all expenditures. 30 percent of all farms reported no expenditures for labor in this year.

In 1930, the farms reporting expenditures for labor in 1929 constituted but 57.7 percent of all farms, in contrast with 70 percent of all farms reporting expenditures for 1909. The census of 1930 does not yield data as to the distribution of farms on the basis of expenditures for labor. However, a special study of the 1930 data[2] indicates that there is a high concentration of employment as indicated by expenditures for labor on fruit, truck, dairy, and poultry farms. Table 6 gives the number of farms in 1929 with normal incomes of $30,000 and over and indicates their significance as employers of wage labor.

TABLE 6.—*Expenditures for hired labor on large-scale fruit, truck, dairy, and poultry farms, New Jersey, 1929*

Type of farm	Number of large-scale farms	Percent of all farms of type	Expenditures for labor on large-scale farms	Percent of expenditure for labor by all farms of type
Fruit	41	3. 0	$531, 751	34. 5
Truck	33	. 6	690, 790	16. 4
Dairy	50	1. 0	1, 329, 987	30. 1
Poultry	8	. 2	41, 047	4. 8
Total	132		2, 593, 575	

There were 10 additional large-scale farms noted in the special census study, but they were not classified as to type, and data on their expenditures for labor are not available. The 132 farms included in the tabulation above, however, while comprising but one-half of 1 percent of all farms of all types in New Jersey, spent an average of nearly $20,000 for labor per farm, and as a group accounted for more than one-seventh of total expenditures by all farms for labor in 1929.

The heavy concentration of employment of wage labor which is indicated in table 6 is also apparent in a special tabulation of 1935 census data which was made for the Social Security Board by the Bureau of the Census.[3] Table 7 presents a distribution of hired workers on farms classified by the number of workers employed.

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[2] Jennings, op. cit.

[3] Wendzel, Julius T., Distribution of Hired Farm Laborers in the United States, Monthly Labor Review, September 1937.

TABLE 7.—*Distribution of farms and hired laborers working on farms by number of workers employed, New Jersey, January 1935*

Number of hired laborers on farm	Farms		Percent of all farms reporting hired laborers	Laborers	
	Number	Percent of all farms		Number	Percent of total
0	20, 497	69. 8			
1	5, 826	19. 8	65. 6	5, 826	33. 9
2	1, 690	5. 8	19. 0	3, 380	19. 7
3	567	1. 9	6. 4	1, 701	9. 9
4	294	1. 0	3. 3	1, 176	6. 9
5	159	. 5	1. 8	795	4. 6
6 or 7	139	. 5	1. 6	880	5. 1
8 or 9	58	. 2	. 7	480	2. 8
10 or more	145	. 5	1. 6	2, 944	17. 1
Total	29, 375	100. 0	100. 0	17, 182	100. 0
Farms employing labor	8, 878				

January is a month when few workers except those required on a more or less year-round basis are required. Very probably table 7 shows a high proportion of dairy and poultry farms for this season. While the number of farms employing labor at other times of the year is greater than that shown on table 7, yet the percentage distribution of employment on farms employing labor is probably not greatly different from that shown on the table. The concentration of employment which is brought out is very striking. Farms with three or more workers, representing 4.6 percent of all farms and 15.4 percent of all farms employing labor accounted for more than two-fifths of all workers employed at this time. Farms employing 10 or more workers, one-half of 1 percent of all farms, employed more than one-sixth of all workers.

Appraisal of the statistics.—It must always be remembered in connection with census data that the statistics on farms relate not to properties under single ownership or control, but rather to farm operating units. Thus the magnitude and significance of multiple farm ownership units is not revealed in the statistics which have been summarized above. A special survey of large farms in New Jersey tabulated 79 large-scale farming enterprises in 1931, of which 16 were multiple-unit enterprises consisting, in all, of 55 separate units.[4] The extent of multiple-unit operation in New Jersey is not known, but to the extent that it has existed, it has resulted in an understatement of the true extent of concentration in the control of farming operations in the State. The acreage statistics which have been summarized do not reveal any very high concentration of land or of harvested crop acreage. The number of larger farms, in terms of acreage, is relatively small, and these larger farms have only a small proportion of all land in farms or of the total harvested acreage. Data relative to the concentration of land in specific crops have not been available to your committee, but it is probable that on this basis a much higher degree of concentration would be found to exist.

Data on the distribution of farm income reveal a much higher degree of concentration than do the distributions of acreage. The concentration of income on fruit, dairy, and truck farms is quite pronounced. These data, when compared with the acreage distributions, suggest that there is a considerable variation in the intensity of farming in New Jersey, and that on this account income is a preferable over-all measure of economic size.

More striking concentration is evident in the distribution of farms by expenditures for hired farm labor and by the number of workers employed. Fragmentary as these data are, they clearly indicate that only a small proportion of all farms in the State are significant factors in the agricultural labor market, and that whatever the nature of the farm labor problem in New Jersey, it is a problem which significantly affects only a small minority of the farm operators in the State. This small minority are industrialized enterprises, departing completely from the conventional American family-farm pattern, and resembling more closely, in the matter of employer-employee relationships, the manufacturing and business establishments which serve to provide the bulk of the available employment opportunities in the State.

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[4] Circular 194, New Jersey State Department of Agriculture, Trenton, 1931, p. 43, table VII.

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